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Yugoslavia

International—The FRY Presidency, at a session attended by the Serbian and Montenegrin presidents, issued a call to "the Serbian leadership in Bosnia-Hercegovina" to "prevent the bombing of Sarajevo and other towns" from Serbian-controlled territory, according to Belgrade TV. The Presidency also called on the Bosnian Serbs to "invite" the representatives of the UN Forces "to assume control over Sarajevo airport" and to "secure and provide guarantees for unhindered passage of any humanitarian aid."

Serbia—Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic told a Belgrade press conference that the government was "prepared to discuss with representatives of the Albanian national minority all issues concerning their rights," according to TANJUG. The government would not discuss "Kosovo and Metohija's secession from Serbia and Yugoslavia," however. Bozovic said Albanian representatives had "shown no readiness to talk."

According to TANJUG, the fuel and power industry minister said Serbia "was drawing up an oil derivatives austerity program" to deal with the UN sanctions. The minister said there would be enough fuel "to meet the most urgent demand" despite the "embargo."

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Belgrade TV carries an interview with Professor Dr. Nikola Koljevic, member of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency who resigned on 1 June, in which he comments on the admittance of Nenad Kecmanovic and Mirko Pejanovic into the Presidency. According to Koljevic, "this can only lead to more tragic bloodshed... as they are simply not authentic representatives of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina." Koljevic stated that the two newly admitted members "held consultations" with Serbian representatives, at which time they claimed "they would not enter the Presidency."

Hungary

Although Defense Minister Lajos Fur said that Hungarian troops would not take part in a UN military intervention in Yugoslavia, MTI on 2 June reported that he added: "Certain units will keep an eye on the southern border, maintaining proper alert." According to MTI, Foreign Affairs Spokesman Janos Herman said: "Hungary will implement all sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro stipulated by UN Security Council Resolution No. 257." He continued: "The sanctions do not call to close" borders, suspend road traffic between Hungary and Yugoslavia or shut down diplomatic representations. Nor does Hungary plan to do so."

Czechoslovakia

In a nationwide address carried on Prague TV, President Vaclav Havel urged voters to cast their ballots in the 5-6 June parliamentary elections for parties that "want to reach an agreement" between the republics and "truly and sincerely honor the constitution, law, and democracy." Havel also called on voters to support parties that "want to continue the bold economic reform" carried out by the present government.

Poland

Talks to include the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) in the governing coalition broke down on 2 June when the party refused to support the government's budget, which the Sejm is scheduled to vote on at its next session. According to Warsaw TV, KPN leader Leszek Moczulski told reporters that the "whole two and a half hour talk was devoted to the budget," adding that his party could not "accept something that is wrong in its very assumptions."

Further Reportage on Visit of Turkey's Demirel

Friendship Treaty Signed

AU0206082392 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] In the course of his friendly and official visit to our country, the Turkish Government delegation headed by Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel concluded talks with the Albanian delegation headed by President Sali Berisha.

These discussions covered bilateral relations, Albania's domestic economic situation, the possibilities of aid from Turkey, cooperation in different areas, and the regional situation.

Albanian President Sali Berisha and Turkish Premier Suleyman Demirel signed a treaty of friendship, good-neighborliness, and cooperation between our two countries and stressed its importance for Albania's relations with Turkey.

They also signed an agreement for the mutual protection of investments and a protocol on cooperation in security and public order. During the talks, the two sides reaffirmed their desire to identify opportunities for the further development of bilateral relations and an acceleration of the process of cooperation.

For this reason, they decided to conclude an agreement on military cooperation in exercises and training, whose text is to be determined as soon as possible; an agreement for the elimination of double taxation, whose text should be drafted as soon as possible; an agreement on cooperation in tourism, whose text should be drafted at the next session of the Albanian-Turkish Joint Commission on Tourism; the protocol of the Albanian-Turkish Economic Commission, which will meet in Tirana in June; and a program of cultural exchange for 1992-94, which must be concluded in the second half of this year.

Both sides agreed to start talks on an agreement on legal assistance in jurisprudential and commercial affairs; an agreement on legal assistance in criminal cases, and on the extradition and transfer of criminals; and a protocol on cooperation in the field of health.

The two sides discussed credit and financial concessions for Albania and agreed as below:

Talks will be conducted on the payment of the credit of $15 million signed on 1 February 1992. An agreement will be concluded for a credit of $15 million in order to finance imports from Turkey. A further credit of $20 million will be made available in order to finance imports from Turkey. Both sides expressed the intention to study the possibility of constructing an Egnatia highway [Via Egnatia, Roman road linking Durres and Istanbul] on the basis of a joint enterprise and with the involvement of a third party. It was decided to increase banking cooperation and to organize investment in Albania. For this purpose, it was agreed that the Turkish agricultural bank Ziraat Bankasi will open a branch in Albania. They decided to conclude an agreement on civil aviation, to include the inauguration of a Tirana-Istanbul air service and improvements to the infrastructure of Rinas Airport. The Turkish side agreed to help Albania with experts and technical assistance in various sides.

Both sides will make efforts to ease the free flow of all kind of information and will encourage and improve cooperation in the press and radio broadcasting, including the rebroadcasting of Turkish television stations through modern technological means such as cable and satellite. Both sides, watching developments in the Balkans, expressed the desire to undertake joint measures in order to contribute to regional peace, stability, and prosperity, lending an impetus to Balkan cooperation.

In this context, both sides recognized the vital need to fully enforce the principles of the CSCE, bearing in mind the fundamental changes in the region. The two sides also discussed the situation in the region and the crisis and conflict in former Yugoslavia, observing with pleasure that the views of both sides coincided perfectly. The two parties consider that the Serbian Government and the Federal Army under its control are the primary culprits for the outbreak and persistence of the conflict in Yugoslavia. They welcome and support the sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council against Serbia and Montenegro and promise to apply them. Both sides call on all other UN member states, especially Balkan countries, to enforce the UN sanctions.

In connection with the situation in Kosovo and avoiding the outbreak of a conflict, they supported the dispatch of UN observer forces to the region and the declaration of Kosovo as a demilitarized zone.

President Berisha supports the right of the Albanians to self- determination, which must be achieved through a political solution. The first step toward this is to include Ibrahim Rugova, the elected president of the Republic of Kosovo, in all talks about solving the Yugoslav crisis. Both sides stressed that the Serbian Army's unleashing of violence in Kosovo would lead to an escalation that could involve the Balkans and areas beyond. We therefore call on the international community to do its utmost to avoid conflict and to support a solution of this problem.

The Albanian side expressed its refusal to accept the failure to respect the human and national rights of the Albanians in Macedonia, but also expressed the confidence that this problem can be solved through dialogue. President Berisha expressed his intention to recognize the Republic of Macedonia and to develop good relations with this state.

The Turkish state undertook to encourage and support help for Albania from other countries and among international bodies of which it is a member, especially the

Group of 24. The Albanian side repeated its commitment to removing visa obligations for Turkish and Bulgarian citizens and for citizens of EEC countries. The Turkish side invited Albania to join the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Agreement, an invitation which the Albanian side accepted with pleasure. The Turkish Government decided to grant Albania immediate humanitarian aid of 3,000 tonnes of sugar, 1,000 tonnes soap, 1,000 tonnes of margarine, and 1,000 tonnes of macaroni, for which the Albanian side expressed thanks.

Demirel Speaks at Assembly

AU0206132092 Tirana ATA in English 0907 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 2 (ATA)—In the course of his visits to Albania, the prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, Suleyman Demirel, went to the People's Assembly. Accompanied by the deputy chairmen of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Tomorr Malasi and Shaqir Vukaj, Mr. Demirel went to the meetings' hall of the People's Assembly. The Turkish guest was greeted by Mr. Malasi, who said:

"Honourable deputies, honourable ambassadors and representatives of foreign states, ladies and gentlemen invited. I have the pleasure to introduce Mr. Premier as a guest of honour to the People's Assembly. Allow me in the name of the deputies to wish welcome to you and the whole Turkish delegation associating you. Then he spoke of March 22 elections in Albania, of the formation of the pluralist parliament, which, he said, is making great efforts to reform the state with the new and modern legislation in the context of the European standards. Speaking of the international situation, Mr. Malasi said: We sorrowfully observe that the Balkans is deeply disturbed of that. In the former Yugoslav federation some independent republics are formed, meeting the opposition of the Serb chauvinists.

The latest events in Bosnia-Hercegovina testify to this brutal and primitive action. The clear-cut and resolute stand of the Council of Security of May 30, imposing total economic embargo on Serbia, as well as the suggestion of other fiercer measures in the future, prove of the fact that the world community stigmatized finally the blame and the culprit in this inhuman conflagration. The epoch of democracy, of human freedoms, of the rights of the peoples to self-determination is opened. On May 24th, the over 2 million people of Kosovo, autochthonous on their territories in former Yugoslavia, challenging Serb repression, voiced the political will with the elections of the Assembly of this Republic and its president.

In the Balkan context, we consider the relations of our country with the Republic of Turkey of a special importance in all aspects. Turkey has been and remains a powerful factor of peace and stability in this zone and broader. Your visit, he said to the Premier Demirel, marks an important step in the further approachment and cooperation between our two countries. We have confidence that your visit will give a powerful impetus to our relations to the benefit of our two peoples and countries, for mutual understanding to help each other, for peace and security in the Balkans.

Then, the premier of the Turkish Government took the floor. He said among others:

"Honourable deputies, honourable representatives of the Albanian people, thank you very much for giving me the chance to speak here. The elected People's Assembly of a country is the most important institution of the country, it is the heart of this country. I know the role of the parliament very well, it always voices the will of the people. I have a great respect for and desire to speak before you, before the representatives of your people. Every regime has an assembly, has a parliament. In your former regime too there was a parliament, Mr. Demirel said further on. But there are distinctions between the parliaments of some other kinds and the parliament of a democratic regime, because the parliament of a democratic state represents the interests of the people.

Albania realised in time the events that occurred after 1990. I thank the Albanian people and congratulate their representatives who realised that they had to do something, that they had to make up for the lost time. Your duty is difficult. Because you have to set up institutions of a democratic regime instead of those of the communist regime, you have to put in action the institutions of the market economy instead of the institutions of a Marxist economy. You are living through the epoch of a genuine reform.

During the meetings I had with the party leaders, represented in the parliament, I noticed that they have understood very well the function of this parliament, because the multiparty system is an inevitable condition for democracy. I wish success to you, senior representatives of this people, who combat for their interests.

I think that the most important notion of our epoch is the world public opinion. Although the UN, the CSCE, and many other states have said stop to bloodshed by the Serbs, or in Karabakh, the bloodshed was not stopped. Actually it is necessary to impose sanctions, despite the endeavours of the civilised countries, peoples, states to stop bloodshed. The force of sanctions begins in the economic field and might reach to the use of force for peaceful reasons.

I think that the civilized world, all the civilized states, all mass media will manage to halt the hand of the events in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Karabakh. I think that it is not possible to repeat such events in Kosovo and Sandjak [Sanxhak] Here before the representatives of your people I want to declare once more worldwide that there should not be cases for bloodshed, because its consequences will be very bad.

Our bilateral relations aim at peace, stability, and development. These relations are not against a third party. The peoples of our two countries are fraternal peoples. It

is to the benefit of our fraternal peoples to have a growing cooperation. If peace is attained in the Balkans, on which rest always the eyes of all, if there is a better cooperation between the Balkan people, this would be to the benefit of the whole world.

During the stay here I had talks with Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, and some other ministers. We signed the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Cooperation, which will raise to a new level the relations between our two countries. We have spoken in your favour in all the institutions we adhere and by many other countries.

We do not intend to make you a zone of influence. We consider it a responsibility we feel for a fraternal country and people. Such a thing helps other countries too. I wish you success in your highest duty to serve the people you represent in the best possible way. I thank you from the bottom of my heart and express my gratitude for giving me the possibility to address you here.

Berisha, Demirel Stress Mutual Support

AU0206132492 Tirana ATA in English 0836 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 1 (ATA)—On June 1 at noon, President Sali Berisha and the Turkish Premier Suleyman Demirel gave a press conference at the press centre in Tirana.

Addressing the journalists, President Berisha said among others that he was glad to confirm that the visit to Albania of Albania's outstanding guest and my friend, Mr. Demirel was a very great success. After reiterating the close historic ties and traditional friendship between our two countries and peoples, the Albanian president pointed out that the four agreements signed on June 1 are only the first step, because both sides voiced the readiness and good will to promote intensively relations. We agreed, he said, to intensify cooperation in all fields, as in telecommunication, radio-dissemination, mass media, and the opening of an airline between the two countries. Soon we shall sign an agreement to avoid double taxes, cultural agreement, and for technical assistance. He mentioned also the allocation of an aid to the tune 50 million dollars by Turkey as well as the emergency humanitarian aid to reach Albania within a week. There was a similarity of opinions on the situation in former Yugoslavia, Kosovo particularly, he added.

On his part, Premier Demirel said that he was extremely satisfied by the negotiations with his brother Berisha, the Prime Minister Meksi, and others. After speaking of the new climate and conditions created in Europe and the world, and Turkey's role in further promoting these democratic processes, the Turkish premier said that the Albanians are our brothers.

After hailing the Albanian president and parliament emerged from the March 22 elections, the Turkish premier said that with these leaders Albania will manage to find an outlet of all the problems facing it. Speaking of the situation in former Yugoslavia, in Kosovo, and Bosnia-Hercegovina, he underscored that the Turkish Government is pursuing with concern the events that have already occurred and might occur in this region and expressed the confidence that the world will by all means halt the further escalation of these events. It will punish Milosevic and people of the same feather. We, he said, are not against any neighbour, but we aim that the Turkish-Albanian cooperation serve peace, tranquillity, and stability in the region.

Finally, the Turkish premier said that he had invited President Berisha and Premier Meksi to visit Turkey.

Later the Albanian president and the Turkish premier responded to the questions of the journalists. In reply to a question regarding Albania's request to membership in NATO and the stand of his country to this request, Demirel said that he endorsed Albania's membership in NATO. Regarding the bilateral cooperation in the military field, the Turkish premier emphasized that as two fraternal countries we are ready to cooperate in this respect, too, and such a thing should not disturb anybody.

Prime Minister Demirel Departs

AU0206132792 Tirana ATA in English 0933 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 2 (ATA)—The Premier of the Republic of Turkey Suleyman Demirel, who at the invitation of the Albanian Premier Aleksander Meksi and as a friend of President Sali Berisha paid a two days' visit to Albania, left our country on June 1. Present at the airport to see off the distinguished guest from Turkey were the President of the Republic Sali Berisha, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Dr. Aleksander Meksi, and others. Present to see Mr. Suleyman Demirel off was also the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey to the Republic of Albania Metin Ornekkol.

Upcoming Exercises Announced; Other Issues

AU0206202092 Sofia BTA in English 1945 GMT 2 Jun 92

["Today"—BTA headline]

[Excerpts] Sofia, June 2 (BTA)—There is no movement of Bulgarian troops along Bulgaria's western border, it is said today in an announcement of the Press Office of the Ministry of Defence in response to the interest shown by foreign journalists. Today the Press Office of the Ministry of Defence also announced that a scheduled command-post exercise will be held in the first half of June with staffs of the garrisons of the Second Army without the participation of troops. The exercise will be under the leadership of the commander of the Bulgarian Land Forces, Lieutenant-General Lyutskan Lyutskanov. The announcement says that a scheduled command-post exercise with the staffs of the garrisons of the Third Mechanized Infantry Division will also be held over the same period without the participation of troops.

A panel of the Military Division of the Supreme Court, chaired by Major Petur Raymundov, repealed the death sentence of emigre journalist Vladimir Kostov and quashed the six and a half years in prison sentence of his wife. Mr. Kostov's case has been returned to the preliminary investigation stage. This decision is motivated by the fact that the Sofia Court Martial, which tried the case in 1978, made major breaches of procedure—the defendants were tried in absentia and without an appointed lawyer. Mr. Kostov, who is now working as a journalist in Radio Free Europe, refused to return from France in 1978 and was charged with treason. At that time he was a major of the former State Security. [passage omitted]

A framework agreement for the admission of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP) to the Bulgarian Democratic Centre (BDC) is being drafted, Mr. Aleksandur Karakachanov, leader of the Green Party (in the BDC) said at a press conference today. At his regular meeting with journalists today, the leader of the BSDP, Dr. Petur Dertliev, said that a technique for joint political action in the case of new elections will be elaborated between the BSDP and the BDC. [passage omitted]

The Radical Democratic Party (in the ruling Union of Democratic Forces) will move a draft resolution on Yugoslavia at the session of the Executive Committee of the Liberal International to be held on June 5 in Brussels, Mr. Mikhail Nedelchev, spokesman for the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) said at a press conference today. He said that the party will support the candidature of President Zhelyu Zhelev as an individual member of the Liberal International.

The National Coordinating Council of the SDS is regarding the struggle of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church for the restoration of traditions and its independence from the state with understanding, a declaration adopted at today's session of the National Coordinating Council of the SDS reads. In it the leaders of the coalition declare themselves against the interference of the state in the affairs of the Church and for maximum restraint on the part of the political forces and the state on this issue.

Today the Executive Council of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB)—one of the two major trade union amalgamations in this country, declared its concern over the escalation of tension in the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. It believes that the interference of the secular authority in religious life and the occupation of the Holy Synod is a gross violation of all norms and rules of democratic behavior. The vice-president of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, Mr. Oleg Chulev, told BTA that Podkrepa will accept the decision of the Constitutional Court on this issue.

Metropolitan Khristofor Subev of Makariopol, who occupied the Holy Synod yesterday, will resign from his post as deputy chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the SDS and as its member, Mr. Mikhail Nedelchev announced. Mr. Khristofor Subev motivated the application for his resignation, made public today but dated May 22, 1992, with his preoccupation in the reform of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church.

The Bulgarian Socialist party (BSP) has asked the president of the Republic, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, to publish the full text of the recording of his talks with Simeon II on May 26 in Madrid, a representative of the Socialists said today. Otherwise we will conclude that the president was not sincere when he said he wished to acquaint the Bulgarian public with the truth about his meeting in the Spanish capital, he added. According to the BSP and its allies in parliament, a definite stand on the talks in Madrid can be taken only after the recording is made public.

A joint session of the Parliamentary Social and Legislative Committees today, attended by the ministers of finance and social affairs—Mr. Ivan Kostov and Mr. Vekil Vanov, discussed the Bill on the Updating of Pensions. The MP's [member of parliament] and the cabinet ministers argued for a long time over the percentage by which the pensions of agricultural workers should be updated. Two figures will be proposed at the plenary session of parliament for the MP's to choose—20 and 30 percent. The Pensions Bill may be debated at the plenary session tomorrow.

MP's of the parliamentary group of the SDS met this evening to discuss their relations with the renewed cabinet and their future strategy in parliament.

As of today Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov and Mr. Edvin Sugarev, floor leader and deputy floor leader of the parliamentary group of the SDS, will hold preliminary talks with leaders of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) on the signing of a political agreement between the SDS and the DPS, it was announced today. [passage omitted]

SDS Council Discusses Agreement With DPS

AU0206142392 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] On 2 June, a meeting of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] was held. The SDS Coordinating Council adopted a statement that urges the SDS parliamentary faction to initiate urgent legislative steps. These steps are aimed at revealing the personal files of the leaders of the political parties in and outside the National Assembly, former state figures, former and present people's representatives, leaders of trade union, public, and scientific organizations, mayors, and journalists, and ensuring the access of all citizens to their personal files.

Another declaration adopted by the meeting stresses that the SDS Coordinating Council has an understanding of the struggle of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church to restore the traditions, and enhance its image and independence vis-a-vis the state on the basis of the laws. The SDS National Coordinating Council points out that the political parties and the state should not interfere in this process and should demonstrate maximum restraint.

Also, it was decided that Aleksandur Yordanov and Edvin Sugarev will immediately start preliminary talks with the leaders of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] and sign a political agreement between the two political forces.

The SDS National Coordinating Council also decided to establish a special group for contacts with the trade unions.

KURIER Political Parties Register

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[Editorial Report] Sofia KURIER in Bulgarian No. 78 on 21 April 92 and subsequent issues continue to carry special supplements with details on Bulgarian political parties and organizations included in the official register. Substantive information on individual parties in these supplements is given below, with the source reference supplied in parentheses following each entry.

033. Bulgarian National Radical Party (BNRP)

The BNRP is the successor of the illegal Bulgarian Nationalist Party founded in 1955, which was dissolved in 1957, reestablished in 1962 as the Bulgarian National Revolutionary Party, and "destroyed" again in 1983. On 15 November, 1989 a constituent meeting restored the party and adopted its present name. On 7 February 1991, the BNRP was "the chief initiator" behind the formation of the right-of-center Bulgarian National Union. On 14 April 1991, it formed the Bulgarian Christian National Union together with the Bulgarian Christian Democratic Party.

The main motto of the BNRP is "For a United and Indivisible Bulgaria." The party "rejects all compromises in the sphere of national interests and fights to rally and unite all Bulgarians." It "sets national interests above narrow party ones, and the prosperity of the Bulgarian nation above nihilism (whether red or blue)." (socialist or democratic) The BNRP "insists on making the communist regime prior to 10 November 1989 and the present rulers from the SDS answer for their obeisance to foreigners and for the national division." The party failed to win any seats in the last two parliamentary elections.

The BNRP's press organ is the newspaper BULGARSKI GLAS ("Bulgarian Voice"). Its leading organ is the Central Leadership, and its chairman is Dr. Ivan Georgiev. (No. 78, 21 Apr 92 p 13)

034. Union of Invalids in Bulgarian (SIB)

The union was established as a nationwide organization on 14 December 1989. Its members include war veterans and permanently disabled persons, and its aim is "to protect its members socioeconomic interests and help them to comprehensively develop as citizens with full rights." The union took part in the June 1990 Grand National Assembly elections, but won no seats.

The union's leading organ is the Central Council, and its new chairman is Galina Georgieva-Atanasova. It publishes the newspaper KURAZH ("Courage"). (No. 79, 22 Apr 92 p 10)

035. Bulgarian Revolutionary Youth Party (BRMP)

The BRMP traces its origins back to the summer of 1980, when a group of 17 workers in Varna attempted to form such a party, but were stopped by the State Security of the time. The party was finally formed in February and March 1990.

The BRMP "unites revolutionarily thinking young people with communist convictions who are loyal to the cause of socialism." It advocates "revolutionizing Bulgarian society by expanding and perfecting socialist democracy in practice." The party still supports the "theory of a developed socialist society" and claims to be "a party of the Marxist-Leninist type," following the ideas of Blagoev and Dimitrov, but advocating "strict observance of and submission to the Constitution." It calls upon world communist parties to unite to form a "Fourth Socialist International."

The Second BRMP Congress on 8 March 1991 renamed the party the Bulgarian Communist Party (Revolutionary), but the party was refused official registration under this name. The BRMP ran unsuccessfully in the two democratic parliamentary elections.

The BRMP's leading organs are the Central Committee and the Political Council of the Central Committee, and Angel Tsonev is Central Committee chairman. (No. 80, 23 Apr 92 p 9)

036. Bulgarian National Democratic Party (BNDP)

The party was formed in Sofia as the Bulgarian National Democratic Union. On 7 March 1990 a national conference decided to reorganize the union into a political party. The BNDP held its first congress in Sofia on 21 April 1990.

The party's motto is "Democracy in Bulgaria's Colors." It supports "neoconservative political philosophy", advocating "preserving and developing Bulgarian traditions and our national interests in all spheres of political and economic life." It strives "to settle interethnic relations in Bulgaria by legislative means" and defends the interests of Bulgarians abroad. It defines its political position as right of center.

The BNDP failed to win any seats in the last two democratic parliamentary elections. Its leading organ is the Ruling Council, and the party's chairman is Luchezar Stoyanov. (No. 81, 24 Apr 92 p 12)

037. "Zveno" People's Union

"Zveno" was first founded as a political discussion club by Dimo Kazasov in 1927. As a member of the Fatherland Front, the "Zveno" Union took part in the seizure of power on 9 September 1944, and its leader Kimon Georgiev headed "the first democratic government." However, in February 1949 "Zveno" was dissolved.

On 12 November 1989 a group of "Zveno" veterans restored the "Zveno" People's Union as an independent political organization and elected Ivan Dundarov as chairman.

"Zveno" "supports a democratic society in which social justice, guaranteed human rights and freedoms, and freedom of speech, information, and religion dominate." It claims to be a centrist party that "strives to balance the conflicts between the individual political forces," and it seeks "to unite the opposition parties, especially the extraparliamentarian ones."

The union's leading organs are the Supreme Council and the Executive Committee. "After Ivan Dundarov's death, the organization has been going through a complex period in the search for a new leader, and in fact has frozen its activity." (No. 82, 28 Apr 92 p 10)

038. Club of Victims of Post-1945 Repressions

The idea to form the club first arose in June 1989, and the club was officially established at a constituent meeting held in Plovdiv in September 1989, attended by representatives from all over the country. The club is one of the founder members of the SDS.

The club unites all persons who suffered physical or psychological repression since 1945, irrespective of party affiliation, "except those who engaged in fascist activities or who have pro-fascist intentions." It opposes social animosity, manifestations of vengeance, and the persecution of dissidents. The club campaigns "for full, unconditional, and juridical rehabilitation of all those repressed for political reasons since 1945; for political pluralism to become a guarantee for democracy; and for judicial power to be independent from the other two powers and monitored by them."

In the June 1990 parliamentary elections, the club won six seats, but has had no representatives in the National Assembly since the October 1991 elections.

On 8 August 1991, a meeting between the leaderships of the Club of Victims of Post-1945 Repressions and the Union of Victims of Repressions in Bulgaria Since 9 September 1944 established that the two organizations "have no differences in their goals and tasks," and it was resolved to form a single Union of Victims of Repressions in Bulgaria with its headquarters in Sofia. The clubs' National Coordinating Council plans to meet on 15 May 1992 to sign a resolution to this effect.

The club's leading organ is the National Coordinating Council, and its chairman is Dimitur Batalov. (No. 83, 29 Apr 92 p 11)

039. Bulgarian Democratic Forum (BDF)

Formed at the initiative of 23 dissidents led by Vasil Uzunov and Vasil Zlatarov, the BDF held its Constituent Meeting in Sofia on 13 January 1990. At the end of 1990, it helped to found the "Svoboda" Coalition for a Turnovo Constitution. After acceptance into the SDS with observer status, the BDF became a full SDS member on 9 September 1991.

The BDF adheres to "the democratic principles of freedom, solidarity, peace, and social justice and strictly respects the Constitution." It opposes "all forms of violence, dictatorship, and false democracy," and its main goals are "anticommunism, settling the nationality problems, and defending social justice." "On issues of anti-communism no party stands further to the right than the BDF, but on social problems it stands left of center." While supporting "an absolutely liberal market economy," it demands a guaranteed subsistence for every Bulgarian citizen.

The BDF fought both democratic parliamentary elections as part of the SDS coalition, and won four seats in the last National Assembly elections. A further three independent deputies have since joined the BDF group.

The Bulgarian Democratic Forum's press organ is the newspaper PRELOM ("Turning Point"). Its leading organs are the National Supreme Council and the Central Leadership, and its chairman is Vasil Zlatarov. (No. 84, 29 Apr 91 p 12)

040. "Obnovlenie" Political Party—Independent Association for Defense of Prisoners' Rights

The "Obnovlenie" ("Renewal") Political Party—Association was formed by a group of prisoners at Vratsa Jail during the prisoners' strikes that took place in

November 1989. The party's leading body is the Ruling Council, and its president is Tsvetomir Belchev. (No. 85, 4 May 92 p 13)

041. United Democratic Center (ODTs)

The ODTs was appeared in November and December 1989, simultaneously with the formation of the Union of Democratic Forces. It was formed in February 1990 as "a sociopolitical movement of professional technocrats, and held its Constituent Conference in Sofia on 21 April 1990.

The ODTs aims to establish itself "as a strong new political party free of the burdens of the past and not a slave of foreign models—a party of experts who reject partisanship." It has 13 deputies in the ruling SDS coalition of the present National Assembly. The ODTs is governed by the National Council, and its chairman is Stoyan Ganev. (No. 85, 4 May 92 p 13)

042. "Ecoglasnost" Political Club

The club was founded by the "Ecoglasnost" Independent Association in March 1990 with the aim of participating in the parliamentary elections. The main aim of the club is "to campaign for up-to-date ecologically friendly legislation to protect citizens from the ecological irresponsibility of government, state, and private organizations and production enterprises."

In the June 1990 Grand National Assembly elections, the "Ecoglasnost" Club won 17 seats in the SDS election coalition. It also participated on the SDS ticket in the October 1991 elections, but won no seats.

In the intervals between elections, the club operates within the framework of the "Ecoglasnost" Independent Association and is governed by the latter's Ruling Council, whose chairman is Petur Slabakov. (No. 86, 5 May 92 p 12)

043. "New Bulgaria" Movement

The movement was formed in Sofia during April and May 1990. Its aim is "to promote the building and development of a new, truly free democratic, law-governed and humane society," and to turn Bulgaria into an economically stable, modern, and civilized state."

"For some time the movement has not shown any special activity." Its leading organ is the Supreme Coordinating Council, with Evtim Timchev as its chairman. (No. 87, 6 May 92 p 13)

044. Radical Democratic Party in Bulgaria (RDP)

The party originally developed in the period from 1904 to 1907. A group of RDP veterans led by Dr. Asen Kolushki and Aleksandur Turkalanov revived the party at the end of 1989.

The RDP fought the June 1990 elections in the SDS coalition and won six seats. In the October 1991 National Assembly elections, it won 19 seats on the SDS ticket.

The RDP "is guided by a neoliberal ideology." It tries "to draw its membership from developed and socially active individuals with firm radical convictions," and aims "to play a balancing role in political life."

The party's leading organs are the National Party Council and the Executive Committee. Elka Konstantinova is the party's chairman. The party's press organ is VEK 21 ("21st Century"). (No. 88, 7 May 92 p 13)

045. Christian Democratic Party in Bulgaria

The party derives its origins from the Democratic Christian Movement that appeared at the end of 1989 and decided to form the present party at a constituent meeting in Sofia on 24 February 1990. In December 1991, the party leadership and most of the members held a joint conference with the Christian Democratic Front to found the Christian Democratic Union.

The Christian Democratic Party demands that the Bulgarian Constitution is brought into conformity with the International Charter on Human Rights. The party bases its public activity on Christian virtues and values. It supports a democratic society with limited state participation, advocates the development of the individual, believing that society should serve the individual, not the converse.

The party holds no seats in parliament. Its leading organ is the seven-member Interim Coordinating Council, whose secretary is Aleksandur Omarchevski. (No. 89, 8 May 92 p 12)

046. Alternative Social Liberal Party (ASP)

"The party's nucleus appeared and took shape in the depths of the Alternative Socialist Association" (a faction in the Bulgarian Socialist Party) at the end of January 1990. At its Second National Conference in Sofia on 11 February 1990, the Alternative Socialist Association issued a declaration on the formation of the Alternative Socialist Party. At its third congress, this party decided to rename itself the Alternative Social Liberal Party, and was officially registered under this name on 28 August 1991.

"Without absolutely rejecting the traditional socialist values, the party has the ambition of developing and advancing as a modern European party based on liberalism." At the moment, it has about 5,000 members, "placing the stress on the quality rather than the quantity of those who wish to join it."

The ASP has been a member of the SDS since October 1990, "although it makes independent assessments on a number of political, economic, and social problems." It ran on a separate ticket in the June 1990 elections,

winning no seats; it holds six seats in the present National Assembly as part of the SDS coalition.

The party's leading organ is the Political Council. Its chairman is Nikolay Vasilev, and vice chairmen Asen Michkovski and Ilian Shotlekov. The party press organ is the newspaper NACHALO ("Beginning"). (No. 90, 11 May 92 p 11)

047. Liberal Party—Pernik

The party was formed in December 1989 and held a constituent meeting in Pernik on 11 February 1990. Following 7 February 1991, the Liberal Party "for a certain time was a member of the right-of- center Bulgarian National Union."

"The party concentrates its activity on defending and implementing Bulgarian national interests." It advocates developing Bulgaria as a democratic, multiparty state ruled by law.

The Liberal Party failed to win any seats in the two democratic parliamentary elections. Its leading organ is the Central Committee, whose chairman is Kiril Borisov. (No. 91, 12 May 92 p 13)

048. Democratic Party—Plovdiv

The party first appeared on 2 December 1989 and was founded at a constituent meeting in Plovdiv on 7 January 1990. It aims "to build a humane, democratic civic society with guaranteed social justice," and "orients its activity toward the political center."

The party is a co-founder of the SDS. It fought the October 1991 elections in the SDS-Center coalition, but obtained no seats. The party's leading organ is the National Party Council, and its chairman is Ventseslav Buchvarov. (No. 92, 13 May 92 p 13)

049. Fatherland Union (OS)

The Fatherland Union is the successor of the Fatherland Front founded in 1942 as "a political association of patriotic antifascists. This organization "formed the first democratic government following 9 September 1944."

The name of Fatherland Union was adopted at an extraordinary congress on 30 and 31 March 1990. The last OS congress on 18 and 19 April 1992 noted that the OS "preserves the good traditions of the Fatherland Front—democracy, consolidation of the nation, and support of republican ideas—but has categorically distanced itself from the deformations."

The OS seeks "national consensus and civic understanding as a counterbalance to division on an ideological, religious, or ethnic basis." During the transition to a market economy, it advocates social protection for people with low incomes, large and young families, and pensioners.

The OS won two seats in the June 1990 parliamentary elections, but did not run in the October 1991 elections. It helped to found the Public Committee on Nationality Problems.

The OS press organ is OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK ("Fatherland Newspaper"). Its leading organ is the Executive Bureau, and the chairman is Ginyo Ganev. (No. 93, 14 May 92 p 12)

050. "Stefan Stambolov" People's Liberal Party

The party was formed on 17 November 1989 by students and professors of Veliko Turnovo University. A constituent congress was held in January 1990, and a "restorative congress" on 7 and 8 May 1990. The party considers itself a successor of the Stambolov faction in the Liberal Party of 1887.

The party "advocates a policy of national independence, priority for national interests, a free market economy with social guarantees, and full respect for all human rights and freedoms."

It fought the October 1991 elections in the coalition of the BSP-dominated Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy and holds one seat in the present National Assembly.

The party's leading organ is the Coordinating Committee, and its chairman is Khristo Atanasov. (No. 94, 15 May 92 p 11)

051. Party of Liberty and Progress (PSP)

The idea of forming the PSP originated in February 1986, but it was formed at a constituent conference held in Sofia on 4 February 1990. At the start of 1990, it helped to form the Political Opposition Bloc, and in January 1991 it was a co-founder of the Union for a Turnovo Constitution. In the fall of 1991, the PSP concluded a political cooperation agreement with the Radical Democratic Party in Bulgaria.

The party supports "the basic principles of world liberalism," advocates "fully restoring democracy by peaceful means," and "strives to form a society of free individuals and a society with an effective parliamentary organization open to the world and all nations." It fought in both the last parliamentary elections, but won no seats.

The PSP's leading organ is the Executive Committee, and Ivan Georgiev is the party's chairman. (No. 95, 18 May 92 p 10)

052. Rights and Freedoms Movement (DPS)

The Rights and Freedoms Movement was formed in Varna on 4 January 1990 "at a constituent meeting attended by 33 like-minded persons from various parts of the country." "In fact the movement arose among discontented citizens with a Turkish ethnic awareness during and as a reaction to the so-called 'revival process'" (in 1984-85). The organization began to take

shape in November and December 1989, and "a considerable number of Bulgarians joined it." The DPS held its national constituent conference in Sofia on 26-27 March 1990.

The DPS won 23 seats in the June 1990 parliamentary elections, and 24 seats in the October 1991 National Assembly elections.

The DPS aims to establish three main principles in society: legality, democracy, and economic progress. "In this sense it regards its own existence as answering a social need for a broadly based sociopolitical movement to defend specific rights and freedoms such as name, language, ethnic self-awareness, religion, culture, and participation in public and political life on an equal basis."

The leading organs of the DPS are the Central Council and the Central Executive Bureau. The Central Council has Ahmed Dogan as its chairman; Sherife Mustafa, as deputy chairman; and Osman Oktay, as responsible secretary. The DPS press organ is the newspaper PRAVA I SVOBODI ("Rights and Freedoms"). (No. 96, 19 May 92 p 15)

053. Organization of Heart Patients and Socially Disadvantaged in Bulgaria

The organization was formed in Varna in March 1990 and held its constituent conference there on 4 April 1990. It seeks to draw the attention of the state and public to the needs of its members, and supports the pensioners' demands for updating of their pensions. It has local organizations in about 20 towns. It participated unsuccessfully in the June 1990 parliamentary elections.

The organization's leading organ is the Central Leadership, and its chairman is Dr. Petur Todorov. (No. 97, 20 May 92 p 13)

054. Free Democratic Party (SvDP)

The formation of the party began in February 1990, and it held its constituent meeting on 21 April 1990.

The Free Democratic Party "supports a parliamentary republic with a presidential form of government, political pluralism, and supreme constitutional supervision." It advocates "guaranteed protection of all people against illegal actions and poverty." The party was unsuccessful in both democratic parliamentary elections.

The party's leading organ is the Supreme Party Council, and its chairman is Dimitur Dimitrov. (No. 97, 20 May 92 p 13)

055. "Vrabcha 1" Bulgarian National Agrarian Union (BZNS)

The "Vrabcha 1" BZNS derives its origins from the Constituent Congress of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union held in Pleven in 1899. It adopted its present name in 1907, when it moved its headquarters from Stara Zagora to No. 1 Vrabcha Street, Sofia. The party was restored by a group of veterans on 10 December 1989.

The party's main goals are: "to establish, maintain, and defend constitutional and parliamentary order in the country, and to defend and guarantee people's natural civil and political rights: liberty, equality, security, and resistance to violence." It advocates "the restitution, compensation, and protection of private property" and campaigns for the restoration and updating of the Turnovo Constitution. "The sudden death of its leader Strakhil Gichev on 10 October 1990 placed the "Vrabcha 1" BZNS in an exceptionally difficult situation."

The party's leading organs are the Ruling Council and the Permanent Body (Postoyanen sustav). The present leadership is headed by Tsanko Stanoev. (No. 98, 21 May 92 p 9)

Japanese Embassy Clarifies Loan Terms

AU0206193892 Sofia BTA in English 1858 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Sofia, June 2 (BTA)—In connection with some commentaries by the Bulgarian media on the negotiations and conditions for a "non-tied" loan which the Japanese Government will grant to Bulgaria, the Embassy of Japan in Sofia thought it expedient to elucidate matters before the Foreign Ministry, a spokesman for the ministry told BTA.

The way some of the media interpret the conditions for the release of the loan is biased and gives a wrong idea of Japan's approach. The loan which Japan intends to grant is not tied, i.e. it need not be utilized by buying only Japanese goods and services, the Japanese Embassy said.

The conditions for its release are the same or more favourable than those under which similar loans have been granted to other countries such as Hungary or Czecho-Slovakia. Terms, interest rates and commissions are similar to or more favourable than those offered by European creditors, the Japanese Embassy adds.

At the same time, the loan complies with Japanese legislation under which the release of new loans through the International Econom[illegible]ooperation Fund is conditioned on the utilizatio[illegible]servicing of loans granted earlier, the embassy s[illegible]

Government Adopts Visa-Free Regime for Tourist

AU0106194692 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Excerpts] The Council of Ministers held a meeting today. [passage omitted on decision involving the use of a building in Sofia]

A decree on introducing a visa-free regime for foreign tourists who visit Bulgaria in organized manner and have paid in advance for tourist services was adopted. The citizens of the following states will benefit from the

visa-free regime: the members of the CSCE except for Albania and the CIS states, the member states of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council, the United Arab Republic; Zimbabwe; Japan; the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Australia, and New Zealand. [passage omitted on additional decisions on the use of Sofia city buildings and on closing several scientific and cultural institutes]

In connection with the decision to close down the Ministry of Trade and Industry, it was decided to liquidate the property of the ministry and regulate the labor-legal status of the employees. The government decided that the liquidation will be conducted by a special commission that should cope with its task by 15 July.

The government also adopted a procedure on exporting nuclear materials approved by the International Atomic Energy Agency. The issue on financing the preparation and conduct of the talks on delineating the border along the Rezovska River was resolved. The Ministry of Finance will have to provide 100,000 leva for this purpose. [passage omitted on sports decisions adopted by the government]

Commentary Urges Revival of Uranium Mining

AU0106184992 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 23 May 92 p 4

[Lidiya Lecheva commentary: "Ministers Change, Question Marks About Uranium Mining Remain"]

[Text] At the end of 1991, [then minister of trade and industry] Pushkarov proposed to the Council of Ministers to discontinue uranium mining. Obviously, the problem with this branch will not be resolved before mid-1992. It does not seem possible that the commission at the Council of Ministers, which must assess uranium mining in Bulgaria, would be able to propose anything specific soon. Two draft decrees have been prepared—on totally closing down the branch and on restructuring it. However, according to the commission's experts, the talks between the government, the employers, and the Podkrepa Labor confederation encounter great difficulties.

At the same time, people employed in uranium mining receive their wages and stay home. No one worked in the last six months. Since February 1991, the branch has been financed in an irregular manner. Indeed, uranium mining is now based on credits and financial aid from the budget.

At the same time, literature critics even know that we live under conditions of market economy. Nevertheless, under those invigorating conditions the "Rare Metals" Association was broken down into 17 trade associations, eight of which deal with uranium mining. Each association increases its prices whenever it wishes and by as much as it wishes, and thus prepares its own bankruptcy. Technological relations between the associations have been deliberately destroyed. One should remember that we are discussing the mining of a strategic raw material, rather than mushrooms production. Specialists are proposing holding or another economic structure that would balance the things in uranium mining.

Under those conditions, it turned out that "Rare Metals" has stored 350 tonnes uranium concentrate. Pushkarov assured everyone that the Russians categorically refused to purchase it. [Finance Minister] Ivan Kostov, our greatest uranium expert, confronted "Rare Metals" director with an ultimatum: the uranium must be sold within 14 days. Recently, customers interested in purchasing the uranium were found in Russia. The Committee on Power Supply must take a stand on the Russian offer. If business picks up, the huge debts of the producers, accumulated during the year and a half when not one single gram of uranium was sold, could be dealt with.

The entire issue of uranium mining could have been resolved much more easily is someone at the Council of Ministers would have listened to the opinion of the producers that the branch should be transferred to the Committee on Power Supply. If this would have happened, a part of the electric power supply profit could cover the higher prime cost of the uranium. Now the state wastes 5 million leva every month for each uranium mine, while waiting to close down the branch. At the same time, only 2 million leva are needed to begin production again. Instead of implementing stupid ideas, it would have been much better to listen to the experts. Naturally, this does not apply to the political cabinets experts.

Prime Minister Dimitrov Visits Netherlands

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For reportage on the visit of Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov to the Netherlands, including his talks with Dutch officials, see the Benelux section of the 2 June Western Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Havel Addresses Nation Prior to Elections

LD0206193792 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1730 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Nationwide television address by President Vaclav Havel; first paragraph is announcer's introduction—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Michael Zantovsky, spokesman of the president of the republic, said yesterday that President Vaclav Havel would deliver on Wednesday a speech addressed to the citizens of Czechoslovakia. According to the Election Law, the mass media election campaign is scheduled to end at 1400 tomorrow. In order to prevent possible accusations of breaching the Election Law, the president decided to deliver his address today, and we therefore present the address by President of the Republic Vaclav Havel at the beginning of today's news bulletin. [presidential fanfares]

[Havel] Dear fellow citizens, esteemed friends. We live in a region where, since time began, European history has been tangled and untangled. We live in a place where the ability of nations and cultures to live in peace, solidarity, and friendship has undergone endurance tests; we live at the very crossroads of the nerves of our continent. As a tradition and not by mere accident, we are a country where various geopolitical interests intersect, where various spiritual currents and traditions either clash or integrate. We are a country where in history—and again, not just by chance—major European or even world confrontations have started or ended on more than one occasion. This position places special demands on us and challenges us to take up a special responsibility, because our decisions are far from concerning only us, only ourselves.

This also applies to the elections that lie ahead of us. The tension with which Europe awaits the decision we will make in this historic moment is, therefore, more than understandable. Our surrounding neighbors are aware—possibly better than we ourselves are—that by making a decision about our own future today, we are indirectly also deciding about the future of Europe.

We have two options: Either we will demonstrate our ability to strike a concord, to display mutual solidarity and to co-exist with one another and with all others on a friendly basis, thus becoming one of the important points of European stability and in turn also a source of hope that after many centuries, Europe will once again find itself as a living example of unity in diversity; or, we will choose the path of confrontation and subsequent division. The meaning of the consequences of such an option could be that we would begin once again to politically divide Europe into East and West. Although we might strongly dislike it, we will not be able to avoid the fact that our split will be viewed in this way.

There are few places around where two nations exist who are so close to one another in their language, in their tradition, experiences, and fate. Why should we not show to Europe and the world that it is possible to follow the path of cooperation, solidarity, federalism, and integration, thus following the way of a creative pluralism of different cultural environments, that is, the only path that could guide the present world civilization out of its crisis and rid it of all the great threats hovering over it.

Years ago Czechoslovakia was talked about as a possible bridge between West and East. I do not think that we are, or that we should be, some sort of a bridge. By the way, soldiers especially like to fight on bridges or for bridges and they have a special liking for taking them. We do have an opportunity to be something different and something more. We may set an example of understanding and calm cooperation which goes beyond river boundaries and thus renders all bridges redundant.

In two days' time we will go to the polling stations and we will decide where and by which path our country will go. Just as I have tried to suggest, we will not only be making decisions about ourselves. At the same time, we will also express by our choice our opinion on what way today's world should follow—the way of disintegration and dispute, or the way of unification based on equality, mutual respect, and partnership. Nothing has been decided so far. Nobody has won the elections yet and nobody has lost them.

The result will depend on what you do this coming Friday and Saturday.

Dear fellow citizens, I implore you, in your own interest and also in the interest of favorable development in the whole of Europe, to give your vote to those who want to reach an agreement, those who want to cooperate, those who truly and sincerely honor the constitution, law and democracy.

I implore you to give your vote to those who want to continue our present foreign policy, drawing on the idea of the indivisibility of human rights, admitting co-responsibility for the state of the world, and striving for the achievement of the status of a respected and active component of the newly emerging European order.

Our program must be openness, not isolation.

I implore you to give your vote to those who want to continue the bold economic reform which we have started to implement and which alone can open us to the advanced world, link us with it, and present a real hope for the renaissance of our economy and thus also for the enhancement of the general standard of living.

I implore you to give your vote to those who, by their program and personal trustworthiness, are a guarantee for all of us that citizen's rights will develop and human rights will be respected, those who want us to become a state of civil and tolerant people, an all-around cultural state, a spiritual state founded on respect for the unique human being and for the basic moral values without which a dignified life is unimaginable.

I implore you not to support those who promise to solve every problem for you. Such people want you to remain quiet, obedient, and kept in line.

I implore you not to support those with dictatorship tendencies, who change their views much too often, are not able to come to an agreement with others, offer various adventurous, ill thought-out and irresponsible solutions and who would like best of all to return to centralist management of our all common affairs.

I implore you not to vote for people for whom their own power is more important than the fate of the nation, people whose coaxing smiles only hide vanity and pride, people who are not capable of listening to others but become intoxicated by their own importance.

I implore you to vote for those who are prepared to look for a really just way of coexistence between our nations and all our citizens in a common state.

I implore you to vote for wise, tolerant, businesslike, decent people, not for people who either look for or create conflicts.

I implore you to realize that you are making a decision on whether today's Czechoslovakia will be a firm and important stone in that great construction of a united Europe of free and freely cooperating nations, or whether it will be a place of endless quarrels and arguments, permanent political and constitutional crises, a country from which all will turn away as from a dangerous and dangerously deepening crack in the very center of our continent.

This decision will be yours and yours alone. The ballot is secret, no one will know who you voted for, thus you need not be afraid of anyone, and thus you can be guided by what your conscience tells you.

Czech and Slovak men, Slovak and Czech women, all citizens of Czechoslovakia, I ask the Lord to guide your hand well in the forthcoming parliamentary elections!

EC Not To Grant Additional Trade Concessions

AU0206174592 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 26 May 92 p 11

[Petr Korbel report: "Czechoslovak Steel Manufacturers Are Facing the Threat of EC Retaliation"]

[Text] The European Community will not grant Czechoslovakia any greater tariff concessions than those provided for in the temporary agreement between the EC states and the CSFR that went into effect on 1 March. That is the outcome of a session of a joint EC-CSFR commission in Brussels late last week.

The Czechoslovak delegation, led by First Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Jan Brabec, demanded in the EC headquarters further easements for Czechoslovak exports. The talks concerned, in particular, textiles, steel, and farm products. At the same time we proposed raising the quotas for those items, such as mutton and lamb, where Czechoslovak exporters have exhausted most of the existing quotas in the first few months of the validity of the temporary agreement. The joint committee did not arrive at any specific decisions in these matters but talks on some points will nevertheless continue. Czechoslovakia may, for example, obtain concessions regarding the export of carp and trout, provided that it extends easements for mackerel imports.

Steel remains the item that causes the greatest complications in relations between the CSFR and EC states. This led to the establishment of a contact group for steel, the first meeting of which was held on 22 May. The EC Commission is still studying a complaint by West European producers against alleged dumping exports of Czechoslovak seamless pipes. The EC is concerned about growing Czechoslovak steel exports. According to the EC countries' statistics, Czechoslovak exports of certain types of metallurgical products increased by a multiple factor in the January-February period. The contact group decided to call a special meeting of experts from both sides, to be attended also by representatives of the manufacturers. This meeting will be preceded by an exchange and comparison of statistical information because the EC data on steel imports from Czechoslovakia do not in all instances conform with the records of Czechoslovak customs bodies about exports to EC countries.

Miroslav Somol, director of the Multilateral Trade Policy Department at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, told us: "In the event of an inordinate increase in our exports to EC countries, we will face the threat of protective retaliatory measures according to Article 19 of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. If, moreover, the EC Commission arrived at the conclusion that these exports were effected at dumping prices, antidumping tariffs would be used against Czechoslovakia. To avoid these complications in relations with the EC, we ourselves must seek ways and means of controlling exports."

Klaus Criticizes Russian Admission to IMF

LD0206165392 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1030 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Vaclav Klaus thinks that yesterday's admission of Russia to the IMF and the ongoing admission of other ex-USSR states to this top financial organization is very premature.

Vaclav Klaus said in an interview for Czech Radio that these countries do not have clearly defined borders, and many of them have not introduced their own currency; chaos reigns there and their political systems have never got off the ground. Czechoslovakia had to meet far more demanding conditions to enter the IMF in 1990, Klaus said.

He also said Russia and other ex-USSR states should not harbor illusions about fast Western assistance. He characterized the ideas of some Czechoslovak economists and political forces on aiming our export policy at the vast Russian market as very risky, because these countries have nothing to pay with. Such market orientation does not make sense, and what our firms are owed by Russia could not be covered from the state budget, Vaclav Klaus said.

Cooperation Agreement With EFTA Outlined

AU0206122292 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 26 May 92 p 8

[Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade article: "A Decade of Greater Advantages"]

[Text] Relations between the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] and the CSFR are based on the Declaration on Cooperation signed in Goeterborg in June 1990. It applies to trade, economic, industrial, and scientific cooperation. It also provides for the possibility of a gradual establishment of a free trade region. The trade volume between EFTA and the CSFR reached $2.196 billion in 1991.

The agreement on free trade, signed by the CSFR and EFTA this March, applies to trade in industrial products, some food products, and fish. Trade in agricultural products will be regulated by bilateral agreements. In view of the economic transformation that is under way in the CSFR, it was agreed that the agreement will be asymmetrical, that is, the CSFR will have more advantages than EFTA in the transitional period until 30 June 2002. The EFTA countries will abolish their customs duties, as soon as the treaty enters into force (after ratification by individual countries), with the exception of some products. After the treaty becomes valid, the CSFR will remove duties charged on some imports. Most of the import restrictions will be removed gradually according to a special time schedule. The agreement also contains a unilateral clause that allows the CSFR to increase duties charged in special cases if certain industrial sectors are threatened by serious problems or by social problems ensuing from their restructuring.

We are quoting from the agreement containing 40 articles and 14 supplements: The contracting parties fix their objective to gradually establish—within the transition period—a free trade area. They stress that the market economy system, a harmonious development of economic activity, the improvement in the standard of living and employment, and the increase of productivity are the basis for this objective. The prerequisite is the existence of the conditions for honest competition and the removal of the obstacles to trade.

Article 10 dealing with general exceptions makes it possible to keep or to introduce new bans or restrictions on the import, export, or transit of products in order to protect public morality; public security; the health and lives of people, animals, and plants; as well as the environment; national property; artistic, historic, and archaeological treasures; intellectual property; or to conserve exhaustible natural resources. The adopted regulations, however, must not be a cover-up for trade restrictions or discrimination.

The article on state monopolies makes it binding for the contracting parties to adjust the state trade monopolies in such a way as to not pose obstacles to the purchase and sale of goods. Article 14 states that the internal tax system must not, directly or indirectly, discriminate against imports from the countries of the contracting parties. Possible tax refunds when goods are exported must not conceal export subsidies.

The article dealing with the rules for economic competition states that any practices adopted by enterprises to restrict or hinder competition and to abuse their dominant position on the market—by one or more enterprises—are not compatible with the agreement. Any kind of state subsidies that would hinder the ability to compete is also incompatible with the agreement. Nevertheless, the CSFR was granted the possibility of imposing, under certain circumstances, so-called prohibited subsidies, for a period of five years after the agreement enters into force.

Article 22 provides a possibility for the CSFR of increasing duty charged on imports that would negatively influence the development of new sectors or those undergoing the restructuring process, or those facing serious problems with serious social consequences. However, the duty must not increase more than 25 percent, the increase must provide a preferential element to the EFTA (and EC) countries, and it must not be applied to more than 15 percent of the total value of industrial goods imported from the EFTA countries. Other articles deal with conditions for reexports, solutions to the balance of payments, and—if there are problems with it— a course of action to be taken when adopting protective measures, etc.

A memorandum of understanding [zaznam o porozumeni] is attached to the agreement. It expands the text of some articles, particularly those that deal with the asymmetry of advantages in the CSFR's favor. Protocol A deals mainly with processed agricultural products—the asymmetry of which is strongly in the CSFR's favor. Protocol B defines the rules regarding the origin of the goods and methods of administrative cooperation.

Supplement I contains a list of items that are excluded from the treaty (caseins, egg and milk proteins, dextrines, modified starch and derived products, natural cork, flax, and hemp). Supplement II provides more details on the fish trade. Austria did not include sweet water fish in the liberalization of trade with the CSFR. Supplement III contains a plan for gradual cuts on duty charged on some selected products imported from the CSFR until the time this duty is eliminated altogether. Supplement IV contains a list of goods on which the

CSFR will abolish import duties and a list of commodities on which duties will be gradually abolished by the end of the year 2000 (including a list of various types of passenger cars). Duties on items not on the lists will decrease to zero by 1996. Additional supplements provide more details on some mutual obligations.

Officials Deny Firms for Sale 'Undervalued'

AU0206120792 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 23 May 92 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Hvozdik-Miklos Dispute"]

[Text] Bratislava—Yesterday Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Anton Vavro refused to accept the possibility that enterprises designated for direct sale in coupon privatization might be undervalued. Appropriate attention is paid to all privatization projects both in form and content.

First comes the Slovak Republic Ministry of Finance, which comments on the price, and then the Slovak Antimonopoly Office, which comments on the creation of competition. Numerous other entities, such as ministry-based expert commissions, also enter the process. [Privatization] Minister Miklos commented on Slovak Republic Control Minister Hvozdik's statement regarding undervalued projects, saying that all direct sales are approved by the Slovak Republic Government of which Martin Hvozdik is a member, and so far, according to Miklos, he has not made such a claim at a government session.

During the afternoon, the Slovak Republic Economic Council discussed the new projects assigned for direct sale or free transfer of assets. It has recommended for discussion in the Slovak Government the projects of Danubia Print Bratislava, Breweries and Malt Houses Saris, Ceramic Works Kosice, Svornost Printing House Bratislava, Meat Packing Industry Prievidza, Milex Nitra, Polnonakup Agrohum Humenne, etc. Thereby the number of enterprises recommended for direct sale increased to almost 100!

Army To Maintain 'Proper Alert' on South Border

LD0206161492 Budapest MTI in English 1339 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 2 (MTI)—Hungarian soldiers will stay away from any possible UN military intervention in Yugoslavia, Defence Minister Lajos Fur said answering a MTI question at a joint press briefing with Hungarian Army Commander Col. Gen. Kalman Lorincz.

The army will remain unaffected by the embargo against Serbia and Montenegro. Although no mobilization will take place, certain units will keep an eye on the southern border, maintaining proper alert. Special measures have so far cost the army one billion forints, Fur said.

As no fighting is directed at Hungary, Yugoslavia poses no concrete threat, he added.

Assessing the past two years, Fur said the largest success has been in military diplomacy, specifically the large number of military agreements concluded, the first with Romania.

About NATO, he said the most important task is to build institutional ties. The membership issue follows.

Hungary is to open a military representation in NATO's Brussels headquarters in the near future.

Fur said Hungary backs French-German endeavours to make the Western European Union [WEU] a security organization.

Hungary's defence and foreign ministers have been invited to a WEU conference in Bonn on 19 June.

Hungarian Army staff, including civilian employees, has been reduced to 100,000 from 155,000 in 1989. About 70,000 of that number is combat staff.

Government To Implement Sanctions Against FRY

LD0206135292 Budapest MTI in English 1210 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 2 (MTI)—Hungary will implement all sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro stipulated by UN Security Council Resolution No. 257. It will halt trade and suspend air traffic with Yugoslavia, Foreign Affairs Spokesman Janos Herman said to the press today.

The sanctions do not call to close borders, suspend road traffic between Hungary and Yugoslavia or shut down diplomatic representations. Nor does Hungary plan to do so, Herman said.

A co-initiator of the Security Council resolution, Hungary has long pressed the UN for stronger action against Serbia. The last time Hungary's UN envoy called for firmer steps was on 15 May.

The ministry proposes Hungarian visitors to Greece, Turkey and other southern states to take alternative routes. Also, it is prepared to redirect Turkish workers travelling home from Germany for summer holidays via Hungary, to Romanian roads. Such a solution, however, requires Romanian border authorities' consent, Herman said.

He said the possibility is open for countries affected by the Yugoslav crisis to take joint action against Serbia as Iraq's neighbours did during the Gulf war.

A geographical expansion and restructuring of the Council of Europe, Eastern European states, cooperation with Europe, human rights in Turkey and migration in East-Central Europe will be on the Council's assembly agenda during their session here between 29 June and 1 July, Herman said.

The assembly will hear Hungarian officials in charge of each issue during committee sessions. Interior Minister Peter Boross is to report on refugee affairs, Minister Erno Pungor on science and nuclear technology, Agriculture Minister Elemer Gergatz on agriculture and economic development and environmental protection Minister Sandor K. Keresztes on environmental protection.

Also today, Hungary and Chile agreed to end tourist visa requirements between their countries for trips up to 90 days.

The consul general post in Istanbul is to be taken by economist Miklos Emri who worked in Istanbul from 1973 to 1978.

Under the usual rotation procedures, 16 Hungarian diplomatic mission heads are to be replaced this year.

Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky will attend a NATO assembly session in Oslo on 5 June.

It is vital for Hungary that NATO remain operational and help preserve European stability and avoid crises, and that the US continue to play a role in creating a new balance between European powers, Herman said.

At the NATO session, Jeszenszky is expected to say that Hungarian diplomacy seeks to enhance CSCE conflict prevention and crisis handling capabilities by all possible means, and to use more efficient methods, Herman said.

Hungary attaches great importance to a proposal to set up peacekeeping forces with a CSCE mandate using NATO and Western European Union technical and infrastructural means, Herman said.

At the Earth Summit (UN environment and development world conference) in Rio de Janeiro between 3 and 14 June, Hungary is to be represented by Foreign Affairs State Secretary Tamas Katona between 3 and 7 June and by Environmental Protection Minister Sandor K. Keresztes from 7 June. President Arpad Goncz is to attend the summit between 12 and 14 June, Herman said.

Report on Yugoslav Truck Blockade at Horgos

Border Blockade Lifted

LD0206163492 Budapest MTI in English 1350 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 2 (MTI)—The forty Yugoslav trucks at Horgos, Yugoslavia, stopping traffic since this morning lifted their blockade at 3 pm, the Hungarian border guard spokesman said.

The Hungarian border station at Roszke had been effectively "closed" for several hours today after the trucks dominated the Yugoslav part of the border road.

Traffic at Roszke has returned to normal, he said.

Truck Drivers Repeat Blockade

LD0206201692 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Truck drivers have yet again blockaded the Hungarian-Serbian border on the Yugoslav side, this time truck traffic has stopped along the whole border stretch. After the short afternoon break the truck drivers closed the border crossing station at Roeszke again early in the evening, and soon after that at Tompa. However, the blockade is not disturbing motor car and coach traffic.

Truckers Lift Blockade Again

LD0306091892 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Janos Zubek, the Border Guard spokesman, gives us information about the situation at the south-east border:

[Zubek] The road blockade which truckers set up on the other side of the border was lifted after 2100 last night, first of all at Roeszke and then at Tompa. Since then traffic has been practically unimpeded, continuous. At this time, freight traffic going out of the country has only a one-hour wait at Tompa. Otherwise the Hungarian-Serb border is crossable.

Further Report on Serbia Border Situation

LD0206091492 Budapest MTI in English 0758 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 2 (MTI)—On Tuesday morning, trucks heading for Serbia had to wait for an hour or two at the border stations of Roszke and Tompa. In compliance with the UN embargo, all consignments are thoroughly checked by the Hungarian customs authorities, Attila Krisan, deputy spokesman of the Hungarian Frontier Guard, told MTI. Up to now, thirty trucks have been returned by the Hungarian authorities.

Transit shipments to Serbia and Montenegro are only allowed to leave Hungary if they arrived here earlier. Trucks heading for Yugoslavia are no longer permitted to enter Hungarian territory through the Austrian and Czechoslovak border. Food and medicine deliveries, however, are exceptions to the rule. Similar regulations apply to railway transport.

In the wake of the UN embargo, passenger and freight transport is expected to decrease drastically at both Tompa and Roszke, Krisan said.

Antall Meets With U.S. Presidential Envoy

LD0106221492 Budapest MTI in English 1546 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 1 (MTI) - An upcoming G-7 [Group of Seven] summit in Munich, East-Central European developments, security, the wars in Bosnia and Croatia, and the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia were the issues discussed today between Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and John E. Robson, a personal envoy of the U.S. President, a government communique reported.

Robson, deputy treasury secretary, said the stability and good conditions of Hungary's economy for ventures have evoked U.S. investor confidence. Hungary seeks a balance between budget and monetary policies and the economy, and prefers multi-directional international economic relations and a British-American presence, Antall said.

Robson also met with Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa, Minister Tamas Szabo, State Banking Supervisory Committee head Katalin Botos, Hungarian National Bank President Peter Akos Bod, and U.S. and Hungarian businesspeople.

Antall, Kohl Discuss Relations, FRY Situation

LD0206215492 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] During telephone conversations, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Federal German Chancellor Helmut Kohl reviewed issues dealing with bilateral relations, in particular today's ratification of the German-Hungarian basic treaty. They discussed regional problems, the situation in Yugoslavia, the measures following the UN Security Council resolution, and further possible developments, the prime minister's press office said.

Possible Purchase of Swedish Fighter Planes Eyed

LD0106204692 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Excerpt] Is it possible that Hungary will buy fighter planes from Sweden? Janos Jarai talked about this surprising information at a news briefing in Sweden.

[Begin Jarai recording] U.S. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, who is currently in Sweden, is holding talks on the sale of modern missiles. The Swedes intend to use the

weapons with the newly developed planes, only two of which have left the assembly line.

In connection with Hungary, the odd thing is that the head of information of the Saab car and airplane factory, Jan Algrane, briefly confirmed that the delegation which visited Sweden in the middle of May was not only showing interest, but even announced that they intend to buy 26 fighter planes of the JAZ 39 [as heard] type from Sweden. The delegation that visited Sweden was led by Bela Kadar, minister of trade [title as heard]. The deal, valued at almost 65 billion forints—if it is completed, since these types of purchases usually take years—means that the Hungarians will buy the first of this type of plane. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Canadians Begin Aid Projects in Nograd County

LD3105184292 Budapest MTI in English 1659 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Budapest, May 29 (MTI)—In a bid to promote an upswing in Nograd County, an underdeveloped region in northern Hungary, volunteers of the Canadian Executive Service Overseas (CESO) has [as received] set to work in the region, an official of the Canadian Embassy told a press conference in Salgotarjan on Friday.

Financed by the Canadian Foreign Ministry, CESO appeared in Hungary two years ago. Since then, forty CESO volunteers have assisted Hungarian companies, institutions and municipalities.

Jacques Paguette, first secretary of the embassy, said Canada had a vested interest in promoting Hungary's economic integration into the Western world. This year, Canada is managing 50 national and regional aid projects in Hungary in the aggregate value of five million dollars.

Over the past two years, Canadian businessmen have invested 267 million dollars in Hungarian real estate deals, tourism services, hotel construction and industry. Canada has granted a 15-million- dollar credit line to the National Bank of Hungary for the purpose of export promotion.

Democratic Forum Assesses Constitutional Statehood

LD0106095292 Budapest MTI in English 2048 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Budapest, May 30 (MTI)—During its Saturday session in Budapest, the National Board of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF], the leading party of the government coalition, reconfirmed that they continue to regard the written and unwritten principles and rules of constitutional statehood and democracy as binding for themselves, and accept unbiased and public control.

Journalists were later told that on assessing the past two years of work by parliament and the government, the National Board stated that their performance can be evaluated in a just manner in the context of the requirements and the circumstances.

Notwithstanding the limited possibilities, the board considers it indispensable for the legislature, the government and the local authorities to take accelerated measures in order to increase the security of existence of citizens.

According to the statement adopted during the session of HDF's National Board, the prime minister's proposal to the president of the Republic concerning the exemption of the radio president from his post was in conformity with the Constitution and the law passed by parliament on the appointment of public service media leaders.

At the press conference that followed the meeting, it was stated that President Goncz's decision not to relieve Radio President Csaba Gombar of his post ran contrary to the law and the Constitution, as he ignored the law on appointments, the relevant government decree of 1974 and the two resolutions of the Constitutional Court.

New Party of Entrepreneurs Formed in Vas County

LD0106110192 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 30 May 92

[Excerpts] The Party of Entrepreneurs has split. The Vas County branch has turned itself into an independent body and dropped the name of Liberal Civic Federation. It will operate under the name of Party of Entrepreneurs. The group, headed by Imre Olah, chairman of the original party who resigned last year, has seceded because it regards as illegal both the circumstances of the election of Peter Zwack, current chairman of the party, and the adoption of its statutes last year. [passage omitted]

Speaking at a meeting today, Peter Zwack said that his party is opposed neither to the Hungarian Democratic Forum nor to the government but that it is negotiating with several parties in preparation for 1994.

Trade Minister Discusses Future of Oil Fields

LD0106095992 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 30 May 92

[Excerpt] The oil fields of Zala County have not been lost yet. This was said by Trade and Industry Minister Ivan Szabo who was a guest at a managers conference today. Ferenc Rikli reports from Nagykanizsa.

[Rikli] Domestic industry, including the oil industry, has a future. This is proved by the fact that Western firms awaiting concessions are also marking the regions of Zala on their maps. They know that there are oil and gas reserves worth exploring deep in the ground here, Trade and Industry Minster Ivan Szabo said in his closing lecture at the third regional managers conference of Nagykanizsa. He added, however, that the development of new wells can only be envisaged in a system different

from the present one, and with the cooperation of foreign capital. Talking about the possible privatization of the oil industry, he said that this step can only be expected in the long term with 51 percent of the shares remaining in state hands. [passage omitted]

State Secretary on Need for Protecting Agriculture

LD2905225592 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 28 May 92

[Text] The state secretary of the Agricultural Ministry finds that working out an import protection system to protect Hungarian agricultural producers is unavoidable. Assessing the talks with the European Free Trade Association, Gyoergy Rasko said this was needed because a surplus of goods was expected in the world's agricultural trade for several years, and this increasingly justified the protection of production and the security of production.

The state secretary called the agricultural negotiations with international organization effectively unsuccessful, and this was one of the reasons why he urged export protection measures.

KPN-Government Coalition Talks Break Down

LD0206224892 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2200 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Our reporter returned from the Office of the Council of Ministers a moment ago, bringing the latest news

[Reporter] A few minutes ago, talks between the government coalition and the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] were broken off. Why did this happen?

[Begin recording of Leszek Moczulski, KPN leader] The issue of the budget. In fact, the whole two and a half hour talk was devoted to the budget. The government coalition, Premier Olszewski—who was, so to speak, the chief spokesman—demanded that we vote for the budget; that we accept the budget, and that would be for them, so to speak, a condition of our entry to the coalition. The premier made no secret here that the budget is an unrealistic one, in his opinion too; that it is a bad budget and that it will have to be amended before the end of the year. We could not... we cannot accept something that is wrong in its very assumptions. [end recording]

Spokesman on Failure of Talks

LD0306102192 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 0900 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Government spokesman Jan Polkowski said that the budget was the fundamental cause of the failure of last night's talks between the government coalition and the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] in an interview for Radio Zet. According to the spokesman, the KPN was not able to explain what an open budget means in legal and financial terms. The government's approach was one of realities, that is, a realistic budget in realistic circumstances.

Polkowski included the KPN's unclear attitude to the treaty with the EC among other problems making any agreement impossible. The KPN's proposal to renegotiate was not clear, as it was unclear whether the agreement was to be renegotiated within the framework of the agreements already negotiated or whether the negotiations should be broken off and the whole process restarted, the spokesman said.

Referring to the question of the [Sejm's] voting on the budget and the vote of no confidence, Polkowski expressed the view that it is very possible that a vote against the government would in a certain sense be a vote against the Sejm resolution [on exposing former security service collaborators] which is to be implemented by the interior minister.

Walesa Said To Favor PSL Leader for Premier

LD0306082992 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 0800 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] President Lech Walesa has proposed Waldemar Pawlak [Chairman of the Polish Peasant Party, PSL] for the post of prime minister, GAZETA WYBORCZA writes. The PSL chairman would become the head of a government formed by two coalitions: the Christian National Union, the PSL, and Peasant Accord and also the Democratic Union, the Liberals, and the Polish Economic Program. We do not yet know what Pawlak's reaction is.

Spokesman Noncommital on Proposal

LD0306105392 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1000 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski has neither denied nor confirmed information that the president has proposed Waldemar Pawlak for the post of prime minster. I cannot say either yes nor no, the spokesman said when replying to a question by a Polish Press Agency journalist about whether such a proposal has been made. Drzycimski added that the president emphasized the need for peasant groups to operate in political life to a greater extent. This is important for the stabilization of Poland's political life, and the question of who fills the post is of secondary importance at this stage.

Delors Visits Poland, Meets With Officials

LD0106204192 Warsaw PAP in English 1801 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 1—President of the Commission of the European Communities Jacques Delors met Monday with Polish Premier Jan Olszewski to discuss the adjustment of Poland's economy to EC requirements.

Delors and Olszewski discussed the state of the Polish economy and prospects for contacts between Poland and the European Communities. Delors claimed greater competitiveness of Polish exports and tougher financial discipline will decide about Poland's adjustment to EC standards.

They also touched upon better utilization of Phare funds appropriated by the EC for aid to East European countries.

Following the meeting, Premier Olszewski told newsmen that he and Delors talked about the association with the EC in a broader context of the Visegrad triangle countries (Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia).

Jan Olszewski added that although East European countries were not to attend the EC summit in Lisbon this June, informal contacts between representatives of both sides would be possible.

Also on Monday, Jacques Delors and Jan Olszewski addressed a joint letter to the International Centre of Culture and organizers of the European culture month presently starting in Krakow.

They expressed hope that the European culture month would make a significant contribution to the shaping of a new Europe.

The president of the Commission of the European Communities arrived in Poland Monday for a two-day visit.

Urges EC Security Guarantees

LD0306082292 Warsaw PAP in English 2116 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Poznan, June 6—President of the EC Commission Jacques Delors declared Tuesday that the European Community "must provide Poland with a guarantee of security."

Speaking at a press conference in Zakrzewo outside Poznan at the end of an international seminar entitled "law and democracy", Delors added that Polish politicians should ask for such a guarantee "despite voices of disillusionment with the too slow approach of Poland towards Europe."

"We who are pragmatic people need discussion on various plans and that is why we will try to begin a debate on the future of Europe. In Poznan we also wanted to record the fact that Poland belongs to Europe," said Delors.

He emphasized that after the events that had shaken Europe in 1989, it had become necessary to take many problems beyond the hands of specialists and politicians and direct them to scientists, people of culture and religion, intellectuals and other citizens of Europe.

Delors maintained that the "relationship between law and democracy is just as important for the East as it is for the West."

Asked about the nature of EC aid to Poland, Delors replied that it depended on aims defined by Poland itself. These included the opening of EC markets to Polish products, the fight against inflation and unemployment and the creation of a network of small and medium sized enterprises.

Delors stressed that the best way to improve the climate between Poland and the international community was to destroy the picture of Poland as a country where stabilization "is different to other countries".

One of the initiators of the seminar, Eric Arnoult, commented that the East had only "to catch up" with the West which owed "a debt of gratitude to the East".

The seminar, which was attended by several European intellectuals, was the first in a series of meetings entitled "the intersection of education and culture", which will be continued throughout the year in Salamanca, Lausanne and Oxford.

Ombudsman Questions Decommunization Resolution

LD0206211592 Warsaw Polskie Radio Second Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Ombudsman Professor Tadeusz Zielinski, in a statement for [the TV magazine program] Teleexpress, expressed serious reservations about the mode of implementing the Sejm's decommunization resolution. In his opinion, the Sejm resolution did not envisage means of defense for persons affected by this operation. The ombudsman must defend absolutely all citizens against the danger of insinuation and infamy. The resolution does not guarantee persons affected by the right to a court defense. This is a fundamental flaw in the resolution, because the European Convention on the Protection of Basic Human Rights and Freedoms, which Poland is very soon to ratify, clearly makes provision for the right to a court hearing. Professor Zielinski also accused the Sejm resolution of being flawed in the formal-legal sense. It concerns human rights and those rights should be regulated by an Act and not a Sejm Resolution; and the Act should be fully in accordance with the Basic Act, i.e. the Constitution, the ombudsman said.

Sejm Speaker 'Surprised' at Resolution

LD0206214892 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2000 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] A delegation of parliamentarians led by Wieslaw Chrzanowski, the Sejm speaker, returned from Australia this evening. At the airport Speaker Chrzanowski said that he was surprised by the Sejm's resolution to reveal SB and UB [Security Service and Security Offices] agents. When asked whether he would sign the resolution, he said there would have to be a clear legal basis for not signing it. He did not comment on the letter from Deputy Speaker Jacek Kurczewski, asking him not to sign the law.

VAT Draft Legislation Passed on to Sejm

LD0206215692 Warsaw PAP in English 1749 GMT 02 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 2—Draft legislation on the introduction of a value added tax [VAT], to replace the current turnover tax, has been passed on to the Sejm (lower house), Deputy Finance Minister Witold Modzelewski announced on Tuesday.

The government is to ask the Sejm to deal with the draft law as quickly as possible. Because the new tax is a radical departure from the present system, the proposals envisage its introduction 6 months after the Sejm passes the relevant legislation.

No exceptions were envisaged for the new tax, which would be paid by all economic units.

VAT would be imposed at the rate of 22 percent compared to the 20 percent rate which is most often set under the turnover tax. However it was claimed that VAT would make up 18.5 percent of the price of a product.

Modzelewski reckoned that VAT should not lead to increased prices and, since the present turnover tax already ranged from 1 to well over the 22 percent VAT rate, he claimed there might even be some price reductions.

However, he said that VAT might be exploited to raise prices which is why measures would be taken in the initial period to prevent such practices, although he did not want to reveal the details.

No VAT would be paid on certain export products and also where a purchased product became a fixed asset. There would be a 7 percent rate on children's goods.

VAT would be added to the excise duty on alcohol, cigarettes, fuel and cars, again replacing the present turnover tax. The duty would be added to the manufacturers production costs or paid by the importer. VAT would be calculated on the resulting price. Modzelewski gave assurances that together the rate of excise duty and VAT would be equivalent to the current turnover tax.

The VAT legislation marks the end of the tax reforms. When VAT is introduced the "Popiwek" excessive wage tax will be abolished.

Government Law on Radio, TV Sent to Sejm

LD0206211892 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] The Government has submitted a draft law to the Sejm on radio and television. On Thursday a first reading of the draft will take place at a joint meeting of the Commissions of Culture and Media and Legislative Work. Zbigniew Romaszewski, chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, has been authorized to represent the Government's stand on the issue.

The Government draft provides only for public television to have the right to present state policy and to explain the stands of particular political parties. The formulation of the National Broadcasting Council would ensure the influence of the state's highest authorities on public television. The Council would be made up of 12 members, three each appointed by the Sejm, the Senate, the Government, and the president. The Government proposes setting up two stock companies of the State Treasury, the Polish Radio Company, and the Polish Television Company.

The draft includes a provision that programs shown by public television must represent the Christian system of values and adopt the basic ethical principles. According to the government draft, private television will be able to shape its programs independently, provided that at least 10 percent of programs are produced in Poland.

A license would provide the right to broadcast. It could be granted to real and legal persons who live in Poland or have a seat in Poland, or companies with less than 33 percent of foreign capital. The penalty for broadcasting television programs without a license would be a fine or two years imprisonment.

Government Accepts Streamlining of Ministries

LD0206225692 Warsaw PAP in English 1621 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 2—The government has accepted a proposal from the Central Planning Office (CUP) that a new Ministry for the Economy should be created. In the next month CUP is to prepare a draft law on the matter, according to the government press office.

Zbigniew Rykowski, director of the government planning office, said that work on creating the new ministry could begin in the autumn at the earliest, until then the Cabinets Socio-Economic Committee (KSERM) would be coordinating government economic policy. CUP is to present plans for changes to KSERM's area of competence to the next cabinet meeting.

According to the authors of the CUP proposals for a new ministry, the present structure suffers from weaknesses inherited from the command economy. It gives rise to conflicts on areas of competence and makes it difficult to sustain a consistent economic policy.

The proposed changes are modelled on the system in the advanced economies, especially Germany, Switzerland and Japan. The numerous industrial ministries and departments will be rationalised into one ministry which will coordinate economic policy.

At first the Economy Ministry would take over the most important functions of 4 ministries, namely industry, privatisation, construction and CUP, which are to be liquidated. Later on part of the ministry's work would be allocated to the relevant agencies and offices.

There are two versions of the CUP proposals. The first envisages a straightforward takeover by the new ministry of the functions of the 4 liquidated ones. The second allows for the creation of a college of chiefs of the 4 to work with the new ministry.

The creation of the new ministry would take a year from the time the relevant legislation was passed.

Walesa Encourages Coca-Cola To Invest in Poland

LD0306081392 Warsaw PAP in English 1900 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 2—President Lech Walesa on Tuesday received a delegation of the American Coca-Cola Company headed by its president Donald Keough.

The meeting followed the recent opening of the company's production and distribution plants in Gdynia and

Bydgoszcz and plans of further investments in Warsaw and Radzymin of a total value of 200 million dollars.

The president encouraged the American firm to invest in Poland with a view to entering other eastern markets, including Ukraine, Byelarus and Russia.

According to the president's guests, the scale of Coca-Cola investments in Poland is a proof of stability of the Polish market.

Soviet Bases Subject to Environmental Scrutiny

LD0106213392 Warsaw PAP in English 1639 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 1—Deputy Chief Inspector of Environmental Protection Wieslaw Paluszynski announced Monday that Polish environmental inspectors started to examine bases and areas used by ex-Soviet troops stationed in Poland.

The action aims at producing a general assessement of the condition of the environment in areas used as ex-Soviet bases, reaching agreement on assessment protocols by both sides and undertaking steps to prevent the further deterioration of nature.

Under the scheme, the inspection is to be conducted in seven ex-Soviet bases, but the Russian side has recently indicated that another six bases might be inspected.

"I hope that our inspectors will be granted access to all those bases and that inspection will succeed", Paluszynski said.

Germany To Cooperate in Debt 'Scandal' Inquiry

LD0206024992 Warsaw PAP in English 1647 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 1—German authorities have allowed a group of Polish prosecutors, conducting an investigation into the Foreign Debt Servicing Fund (FOZZ) scandal, to open an inquiry into the affair on the German territory, Prosecutor Janusz Kalwas from provincial public prosecutor's office in Warsaw announced Monday.

Janusz Kalwas explained that Public prosecutor's office forwarded similar requests to five other European countries and stated that a successful continuation of the investigation into the FOZZ affair would depend on the proceedings to be opened in these countries.

The present investigation is aimed at establishing whether and by whom the FOZZ money was appropriated and negotiations with U.S. Institutions on the recovery of "certain amounts of money that leaked from FOZZ" are already in progress, explained Kalwas.

He added that since money leaked from FOZZ in many directions it is necessary to conduct a detailed inquiry into each item of the debt and into almost every transaction. "This is an absolutely exceptional affair as far as the manner of conducting the inquiry is concerned," concluded the prosecutor.

U.S.-Poland Agree To Improve Polish Banking

LD0206222692 Warsaw PAP in English 1639 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 2—Minister of Finance Andrzej Olechowski and Deputy Secretary of the U.S. Treasury Department John Robson on Tuesday signed a memorandum of understanding which expresses the intention of both governments to promote the development of the Warsaw banking school and envisages the training of Polish bankers by American experts.

Robson stressed that the purpose of his visit was to assure Poland that the United States has not forgotten about her. He said that his meeting with Olechowski was devoted to discussing the ways of giving assistance to Poland and touched on the Polish program of reforming the economic system.

Robson stated that American businessmen investing in Poland claimed that Poland was becoming an ever more attractive country for foreign investors.

Warsaw is one of eight European capitals visited by Robson on his tour of Central and Eastern Europe.

General, Presidential Elections on 26 Jul

AU0106175492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1729 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/6/1992—On Monday, June 1 the Assembly of Deputies adopted by nominal voting the law for presidential elections. The law stipulates inter alia that presidential elections be held in 1992 at the same time with parliamentary elections.

It was chosen the day of July 26 for the elections.

PUNR Favors Own Candidate for Elections

AU0206184092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1825 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/6/1992—The Romanian National Unity Party (PUNR) is a moderate centre party of neoliberal conception, this party's leaders told a news conference on Tuesday. They specified that possible alliances in the upcoming election campaign may be with the National Liberal Party, but also with those parties that are currently representative in parliament. By no means with the National Salvation Front or the Democratic National Salvation Front. More certain is that the PUNR will run in elections by itself. The party's economic programme and presidential candidate will be fielded next week, the PUNR representatives also said.

PNL-AT Convention Ends, Elects Leadership

AU0106202792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1835 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/6/1992—The national convention of the National Liberal Party-Young Wing [PNL-AT] held on May 30 and 31 May elected Horia Rusu as president of that party's Steering Committee and Rene Radu Policrat as honorary president.

The national convention adopted a "statement" on the Romanian territories across the Prut and the party's attitude towards the situation in the Republic of Moldova as well as a "statement" on the fact that the party backs the candidate to the presidency of the Democratic Convention provided that alliance has a single candidate. If the Democratic Convention has two or more candidates, the members of the National Liberal Party-Young Wing will be free to vote according to their wish.

Republican Party Ends Meeting, Issues Communique

AU0206124292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1038 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/6/1992—Bucharest was venue over May 26-29 the proceedings of the National Council of the Republican Party, which tackled, among other things, the party's tactics and strategy in the campaign for the election of Romania's parliament and president; the party's stance as regards domestic events and international events concerning Romania; basic aspects of the Republican Party's programme-platform, and its position in Romania's political spectrum.

A communique issued Tuesday, June 2, in Bucharest says that the Republican Party will keep its social-liberal position regarding the economic and social programme of Romania's transition to a market economy.

During the debates it was maintained that the Republican Party remained a center party in all its tactical and strategic actions. It was equally specified that the party was willing to cooperate with all moderate center parties. The issue was also discussed of possible alliances for the parliamentary polls and the future governing of Romania.

The National Council of the Republican Party considers that all kinds of cooperation between their party and right and left extremist political parties is out of question.

At the close of the debates, the National Council of the Republican Party, decided, in consensus with the decisions of the local branches of the party, to propose a candidate to Romania's presidency.

Snegur's 'Political Duplicity' Viewed as Problem

AU0206112492 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 27 May 92 pp 1, 2

[Mircea Bunea article: "Who Lets "Ivan" Forget His Place?"]

[Excerpts] Such a thing can happen. [passage omitted] The soldiers of the 14th (Soviet) Army left their barracks with their drummers, arms, and other gear and, together with the Smirnov people, placed themselves along the Dniester River—for defensive purposes, they claim! At some points, they even crossed the river! Naturally, also for... defensive purposes. [passage omitted]

"Ivan" now wants to achieve what he was unable to achieve before, not even on 22 December 1989: First the federalization of Moldova, then of Romania. How? Comrade Rutskoy did not hesitate to say how: Through a Yugoslavization. That is by making us get involved in a war with the 14th Army and then against each other. After which, butchered and impoverished, it will be easy to divide us. [passage omitted]

The indignation of the Romanian patriots has almost reached its climax. Will we, by any chance, hear again "Romanians, cross the Prut River!?" The one who issues such an order will certainly play into the hands of the Russians. This would be incommensurable foolishness. And that is what "Ivan" is waiting for; his war machine would crush us in no time. The hotbeds of the Dniester region and Yugoslavia would coalesce via a highway of fire across Romania. Does this mean that we should abandon our brethren across the Prut River? Not at all, we have to help them more than ever before—with food, medicine, clothing, diplomatic steps, and so forth, but not with armed forces.

Let us not forget that "Ivan" was not only let, but also encouraged to get involved. [passage omitted]

First, "Ivan" is prompted by his own interests to get involved in this conflict. And, no matter how paradoxical it may sound, to this we have to add Chisinau's duplicity. More specifically, the duplicity of President Mircea Snegur and his aides. At the top, Chisinau still believes—or feigns to believe, or is trying to persuade others, but the effect is the same—that one sheath can hold two swords, that one can carry two melons in one hand, that one can reconcile both parties, and that one can have one's cake and eat it, too. [passage omitted] No one denies that—especially in politics—compromise is an indispensable element. But there is a limit to everything. [passage omitted] The president of the Republic of Moldova has ignored these limits and the results are obvious: the 14th Army, together with the Smirnov people, has come to fight. To hit back now would be insane, it would mean suicide. The only solution is a political one. Therefore, steps have to be taken—by diplomatic and other means—so that the international community may stop "Ivan's" actions.

Mr. Snegur complains—and justifiably so—and deplores the destiny of the Moldovan people on the Dniester River. We understand him. Only he himself was the one to encourage "Ivan." His duplicity has turned against him, but the price for this is actually paid by the innocent population. Smirnov and company were arrested. They deserved to be tried in accordance with the laws in Moldova. Who released them? Mr. Snegur. Why? Who dissolved the detachments of young Moldovans who were determined to nip in the bud the danger of dismemberment and federalization? Mr. Snegur. Sensing his hesitation, "Ivan" became courageous. [passage omitted] Time worked in favor of the separatists. [passage omitted]

Mr. Snegur needed votes and, in order to get them, he did not refrain from anything. Now he repents; he writes to Yeltsin and complains to international bodies. It is a positive idea to uncover the crimes committed by the separatists, but... How sincere are Mr. Snegur's regrets? [passage omitted]

The fact that after 31 August 1989—the date when the Moldovan Parliament voted for Romanian as the state language and for the Latin alphabet—the Romanian language continued to be pushed to the periphery can be explained only through political duplicity. [passage omitted]

President Snegur is one of those who frequently violate the law on the state language, which he endorsed.

In the meantime, Chisinau and Moscow are trying to explain the cause of the conflict in the Dniester region. It has been said that the hostilities were of an ethnic, then of an anticommunist nature. An on-the-spot investigation can hardly confirm such affirmations. The fighters—arm in arm—in the trenches of the Dniester area say: The battle is being waged between the "unionists" from both camps and the "antiunionists" from both camps. The rest is just words aired by the fighters with their mouths in Moscow and in Chisinau. Unfortunately, the said confrontation claims innocent people's lives and destroys homes.

World Bank Approves $400 Million Loan

AU0306080992 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0400 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Mircea Podina report from Los Angeles]

[Text] Esteemed listeners, the board of executive directors of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development [IBRD] approved, yesterday, a $400 million loan for structural adjustment, to which $100-150 million will be added by Japan as the co-financier. This has been confirmed by the IBRD executive director from Japan.

Offering other significant details in connection with the approval of this loan, Romanian representative at the World Bank, Ileana Ionescu, emphasized that during the discussions on this loan 12 IBRD executive directors unanimously supported it.

The World Bank board correctly assessed the steps taken by Romania in reform and agreed that the transition program is comprehensive, well-defined, and encompasses all sectors—from restructuring industry to social assistance—and fully merits support by the international financial community.

At the same time, the World Bank management congratulated the Romanian Government for its comprehensive and consistent efforts in reform and favored granting the first tranche of $250 million immediately. Thus, one hour after the conclusion of the discussions, Charge d'affaires Mihai Croitoru was able to sign the documents.

This loan becomes effective after being endorsed by the Romanian Parliament.

Iliescu Visits Bucharest International Fair

AU0106183892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1613 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/6/1992—Today, June 1 Romania's President Ion Iliescu has visited TIBCO '92 International Fair in Bucharest.

In the central pavilion which displays products of commercial companies in Romania and the Republic of Moldova as well as in other countries' pavilions President Iliescu talked to those countries' ambassadors, to the directors and representatives of companies about the possibilities to expand the collaboration between the Romanian and the foreign companies.

President Ion Iliescu was accompanied by Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase, Minister of Trade and Tourism Constantin Fota, by members of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

In a statement made to the press at the end of his visit to TIBCO '92 President Ion Iliescu expressed his "generally good, positive" opinion about this year's fair. "I have

noticed an advanced dynamics of the Romanian economy, of the Romanian industry now in full process of transformation," he added, considering that the relations of collaboration set these days would "give an impetus to the normalisation and re-launching of the economic activity in our country. The collaboration consists—as I could notice—not only in bringing foreign products on the Romanian market but also in contacting our manufacturers, companies and enterprises for the development of the existing productive units," President Iliescu concluded.

Judges for Constitutional Court Appointed

AU0206182792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1525 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/6/1992—Monday, June 2, Romania's Senate started the procedure for the appointment, by secret vote, of the three judges for the Constitutional Court of the five proposals made by the Legal Commission of the Upper House of Parliament.

The Senate also voted the duration for which the judges will exercise their mandate. Thus Senator Antonie Iorgovan, independent, who chaired the commission that drafted the constitution, will be a judge with the Constitutional Court for nine years, Viorel Mihai Ciobanu, university professor nominated by the Democratic National Salvation Front, for six years, and Miklos Fazekas, senator nominated by the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania parliamentary groups, for three years.

The three judges made brief speeches assuring that they would work in defense of the constitutionality of laws.

The members of the Constitutional Court see to it that the procedure for the election of Romania's president is observed (confirming the results of the suffrage) as well as that of legislative elections.

According to the law, the Constitutional Court is made up of nine judges appointed: three by the Chamber of Deputies, three by the Senate and three by Romania's president.

Privatization Head on 'Distribution of Vouchers'

AU0106132092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1114 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/6/1992—A first step in the large-scale privatisation process in Romania is the distribution of vouchers, starting June 1, to all Romanian citizens who were of age on December 31, 1990. Law 58/1991 specifies that all Romanian citizens are distributed vouchers, irrespective of their place of residence (Romania or abroad). The said vouchers can be used to buy or change shares issued by companies under privatisation; they can be sold at the commodity exchange or on the free market, and be inherited.

Shares can be bought with these vouchers at the five funds of private property to be created, that bring together 30 per cent of the nominal capital of all Romanian state capital commercial companies, Adrian Severin, chairman of Romania's Agency for Privatisation told the daily LIBERTATEA.

The initial value of the vouchers, counting 5,000 value units each, will be known after the creation of the five funds of private property.

Referring to the prerogatives of the funds of private property, Adrian Severin mentioned that their role will be to administer shares in such as way as to maximize profits. They will also organize brokerage services.

The National Agency for Privatisation drafted the statute-framework of the funds of private property, which has been submitted to the parliament's economic commissions.

"Do not hurry to get rid of your vouchers. Their value will increase," specified Mr. Severin.

More than 8,000 centers for the distribution of vouchers open June 1 at post offices and town halls, in Romania's communes and towns.

Experts Discuss Toxic Waste Scandel With Germany

AU0206184192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1641 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/6/1992—On Tuesday the Romanian experts from the ministries involved in the action concerning the import of wastes from Germany met in Bucharest with German experts from the Federal Environment Ministry and the Federal Environmental Protection Agency, the Agriculture Ministry, representatives of justice and of the governments of Saar and Saxony lands.

After the meeting, Petre Marcuta, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of the Environment and chairman of the governmental commission set up for the settlement of that problem, stated: "During the talks two important aspects were emphasised, namely the clarification of the juridical and legal aspect of the action—both sides have expressed the necessity that those guilty be held responsible—and, secondly, the Romanian side's insistence that those toxic substances be immediately sent back to Germany.

The German representatives were receptive to the Romanian experts' points of view. In the following two days the German commission together with local authorities will study the existing situation in Sibiu County.

The inquiry made in the two Sibiu commercial companies which had imported those substances are under way. The representatives of the Health Ministry stated they have not yet been acknowledged of cases of illness because of those wastes stored in Sibiu County.

Koljevic Interviewed on Presidency Appointments

AU0206200492 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 2 June 92

[Interview with Professor Dr. Nikola Koljevic, member of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Rada Djokic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Djokic] Instead of you and Professor Dr. Biljana Plavsic, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, yesterday brought Nenad Kecmanovic and Mirko Pejanovic into the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency. Can you comment on this?

[Koljevic] Well, first I think that it is obvious to everyone that they did not agree to this without certain considerable political support, regardless of from whom they got it. I believe that this can only lead to more tragic bloodshed and great anger of the Serbian people, as they are simply not authentic representatives of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Djokic] Do you think that Ante Markovic is involved in all this, bearing in mind that Nenad Kecmanovic is a member of the Alliance of Reformed Forces?

[Koljevic] I can think of numerous people who would be involved in this, but I believe that it is far more interesting to note that in the course of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina we also discussed the so-called reserve Serbs, and the EC representatives made it known to us that they are not seriously counting upon them.

[Djokic] In the past, Nenad Kecmanovic could not enter the SFRY Presidency because of the Kecmanovic affair, which the public already knows about. On that occasion he was proclaimed an English spy. What do you think? Has he now entered the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency as an English spy?

[Koljevic] I do not know whether he entered it as a spy, but it seems that the criteria for entering the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency are a little lower than those for entering the SFRY Presidency.

[Djokic] Did Nenad Kecmanovic and Mirko Pejanovic carry out any consultations with the legitimate representatives of the Serbian people before entering Alija Izetbegovic's Presidency?

[Koljevic] Yes, they did. Some 20 days ago, they held consultations and on that occasion they stated that they would not enter the Presidency. Afterward, there were no subsequent consultations.

[Djokic] Thank you.

Izetbegovic, Panic Agree on Tito Evacuation

LD0206160392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Slanko Rako report from Sarajevo]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Mile Akmadzic, general secretary of the Bosnian Presidency, stated at a news conference in the international press center a few minutes ago that an agreement has been reached between Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency, and General Panic, chief of staff of the former Yugoslav People's Army.

According to Akmadzic, the evacuation of the Marshal Tito barracks can begin very soon and two agreements on the manner of evacuation have been signed. The details were not disclosed, but Akmadzic said that operational talks are under way between representatives of the Territorial Defense and the Ministry of Defense and General Simeunovic. [passage omitted]

Condition on Weapons To Be Met

LD0206164492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1524 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 2 June (TANJUG)—Colonel General Zivolta Panic, chief of staff of the army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, today visited cadets in the military schools of Petrovac na Mlavi who were evacuated yesterday from Pazarici barracks in Sarajevo, the General Staff Information Service said in a statement today. [passage omitted]

According to the statement, the Yugoslav Army General Staff's view is that in the interests of safety of the cadets, soldiers, and members of their families beleaguered in Marshal Tito barracks in Sarajevo, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency's condition should be met that the weaponry should be left in the barracks. This would remove all reasons for further blockade. The General Staff is also taking specific measures to this effect, the General Staff Information Service announced.

Evacuation Scheduled 3 June

AU0206193292 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 June 92

[Dzevded Tuzlic report from the International Press Center]

[Text] Good evening! I will report briefly. Negotiations on the evacuation of the Marshal Tito Barracks have been completed. According to the agreement reached between General Simonovic and Colonel (?Caga), representatives of the Yugoslav Army; Colonel Wilson, commander of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Sarajevo; and the delegation of the Bosnia-Hercegovina state organs, tomorrow morning at 0800, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Territorial Defense commission will enter the barracks and inspect the arms and equipment that will be handed over to the Territorial Defense.

Soldiers and officers will be allowed to leave the barracks carrying only personal arms and personal belongings. An additional 15 trucks and 15 buses from Lukavica are envisaged for their transport.

It is expected the evacuation of the barracks will be completed tomorrow afternoon or the day after tomorrow in the morning.

Regarding the information that Mr. Tornberry from the General Staff of the UNPROFOR in Belgrade and Ejub Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, were supposed to hold talks in Sarajevo today, I can say this meeting is scheduled to take place at 0900 tomorrow, because conditions for holding the talks did not exist this morning.

It still has not been reported whether the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency in its afternoon session agreed on the election of new members of the government or on a new prime minister-designate for the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government.

Silajdzic Skeptical on Effectiveness of Sanctions

AU0306075392 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2008 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Interview with Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic by Robert Hochner in the television studio in Vienna—live, Silajdzic speaks in English with simultaneous German translation—following is from the English]

[Text] [Hochner] Mr. Minister, do you think that the sanctions imposed by the United Nations will be sufficient to stop the war in your country?

[Silajdzic] The sanctions deal with the cause of the expansionism and interventionism of the Belgrade regime. The sanctions have not had an effect on the situation on the ground. This means the sanctions will not stop people dying of hunger. They will not keep people from being driven out of their homes by force. They will not prevent the atrocities that are now perpetrated against the people of Bosnia-Hercegovina. So, nothing has changed on the ground, unfortunately.

The conditions now are dramatic. I just heard today that Sarajevo has food supplies for about two days, no more, medical supplies are very low, and the living conditions are such that people cannot bury their dead.

So, as far as these conditions on the ground are concerned, the sanctions will not have any effect.

[Hochner] Europe and the United States expect these sanctions to only gradually make the leaders in Belgrade persuade the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina to conclude a cease-fire. Do the people in your country actually have time to wait until the sanctions will have an effect?

[Silajdzic] We have been saying for some time that there is no time. Time is running out for those who do not have the essentials—water and bread. There is a suburb in Sarajevo, for example, Dobrinja, where some 40,000 people have been asking for weeks for water and bread for their children, by telephone, pleading for someone to help them. Today we had a convoy headed by UN vehicles trying to get to that suburb, but it was (?fired at). So, that cannot wait. Those people must be helped now.

[Hochner] How can one help them now? Does this mean that, on principle, a military intervention, as it has already been considered in Europe and in the United States, would have to be carried out in the near future so as to ensure at the minimum supplies for the people in Sarajevo?

[Silajdzic] Unfortunately, that is the case. We are dealing with people who are prepared to shell and burn children's hospitals. We are dealing with people who are shelling bread lines. We are dealing with people who are massacring innocent citizens. In order to help the innocent civilians, immediate military action is needed, because without that it has been proven many times that the relief will not be able to get through. We have to have escorts, we have to have artillery dismantled, we have to have the roads cleared in order to restore minimum living conditions in Bosnia-Hercegovina. That cannot be done by UN peacekeeping forces. There must be a military escort to see that the relief gets through. There must be protection of Bosnian airspace. Yesterday we had two Bosnian towns bombed by MiG fighters. We have to protect the civilian population from heavy artillery, tanks, and airplanes and prevent the terrible atrocities that have happened in Bosnia-Hercegovina from recurring.

[Hochner] Mr. Silajdzic, over the past two months you have experienced personally how difficult it was to make Europe and the United Nations agree on sanctions against Serbia in the first place. Do you expect readiness in Europe and in the United States to deploy ground forces to your country to protect relief convoys, for instance?

[Silajdzic] If you allow me, I would like to turn the question around. Are the United States and Europe prepared to witness two months of destruction and slaughter? Are they prepared to watch this continue? Are they prepared to see tens of thousands of people die from hunger in a civilized corner of Europe? This is not only a question of ground troops—I do not understand much of these methods. There are ways, without employing ground troops, to stop the aggressor and alleviate the terrible human suffering in our region.

[Hochner] Mr. Silajdzic, thank you very much for being with us.

[Silajdzic] It was my pleasure.

Silajdzic Appeals to World To Speed Up Aid

AU0306101592 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 3 Jun 92 p 2

[Inge Bacher-Dalma report: "Vegetating as in the Stone Age"]

[Text] Vienna—"We are in a deadly trap." That is the desperate statement made by Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic when he addressed a dramatic appeal for help to the world in Vienna on 2 June. "If help does not come very soon, there will be tens of thousands of

casualties very soon. The people in Bosnia-Hercegovina are being assassinated or killed in action, they die of hunger or thirst, or they die of epidemics and other diseases—every day."

Silajdzic believes that his country can only be saved by a NATO military mission under UN supervision. On 1 June the air force of the Yugoslav People's Army attacked towns in northern Bosnia with MiG fighter aircraft. After this air raid at the latest, the claim that the aggression does not come from the Belgrade command center is "really ridiculous." Who, if not the so-called People's Army, should have MiG bombers? Our Bosnian armed forces do not even have tanks, said the 47-year-old associate of President Izetbegovic in a talk with DER STANDARD.

While Silajdzic welcomes the UN resolution against Serbia, he criticizes its impact as insufficient and too slow, because the people in his country cannot wait until the embargo has taken effect and the ruler in Belgrade, Slobodan Milosevic, is overthrown by his own people. According to the Bosnian politician, who is a Muslim, Milosevic controls and commands all Serbian forces in the former Yugoslavia; the Serbian leader in Bosnia, Karadzic, is his puppet, as are the local leaders in Krajina and eastern Slavonia.

Silajdzic calls for an emergency aid program and says that "the United Nations Organization should finally send helicopters to distribute humanitarian aid for the people," which should, of course, have air cover. "Each day counts. The people are vegetating as in the stone age."

Silajdzic discussed three priorities with his counterpart, Alois Mock—lifting the blockade of Sarajevo Airport; international control of the air space over Bosnia-Hercegovina; placing the former Yugoslav Federal Army under UN control.

UNPROFOR Official Arrives, Stuck in Barracks

LD0206201292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1833 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Jun (TANJUG)—Cedric Thornberry, head of the UN Protection Force's [UNPROFOR] Civilian Division, arrived in Sarajevo this afternoon at the request of Peace Force Commander Satish Nambiar, TANJUG has learned from the Peace Force Headquarters' Information Service in Belgrade.

Cedric Thornberry flew to Sarajevo aboard a Yugoslav Army helicopter. The Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina endorsed his arrival.

The chief commander of the UNPROFOR mission dispatched Thornberry to Sarajevo and tasked him, after receiving the UN secretary general's instructions last night, with initiating the reopening of Sarajevo Airport in order to prepare it for handling humanitarian aid.

The UNPROFOR Headquarters' Information Service in Belgrade has, however, said that, following his arrival in Sarajevo, Thornberry could not be transfered to the main headquarters of the "blue helmets" in the city center because of an incident which took place in the district of Dobrinja regarding food distribution. This refers to humanitarian aid that was to have been distributed in the district of Dobrinja by "The Children's Embassy," Bosnia-Hercegovina radio reports.

According to incomplete reports, on this occasion a van carrying food and its accompanying UN vehicles was attacked. Minutes later the UNPROFOR Headquarters in Belgrade received unconfirmed reports that the driver of the van died while a number of individuals were wounded. At the time the UNPROFOR Belgrade office had no indication as to who attacked the vehicles.

We have learned in the Air Force and Anti-air Defense Command in Belgrade that Cedric Thornberry is in Lukavica barracks for reason of safety, given the fact that he had to pass through the district of Dobrinja, where the incident took place.

General Mladic Orders Placement of Missiles

AU0206164492 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 June 92

[Rade Trbojevic report from the Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs]

[Excerpt] Good day from the Ministry of Internal Affairs! For this program we prepared reports that describe the criminal war that is being waged against the residents, the nationalities, and the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by war criminals Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party, and Ratko Mladic, commander of the armed forces of the Republic of Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina, and which is continuing.

The first report contains the following: After the adoption of the latest UN and EC sanctions, the terrorist and Chetnik formations commanded by General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Second Ministry District, started to use nerve agents and the most deadly unconventional combat means, which are banned by international war regulations.

The usage of specially treated pencils and objects that contain deadly nerve filling [nervno ubojito punjenje] have been prepared for use against the civilians. Serbian Radical Party head Vojislav Seselj's terrorists and Chetniks from the hills around Tuzla started an artillery bombardment of the chlorine-alkaline complex in Tuzla and Lukavac, which is supported by the aircraft from the military airforce and an antiaircraft defense from the former Yugoslav Peoples' Army and whose destruction threatens to cause a civilian and ecological catastrophe for the neighboring republics and also for Austria, Hungary, Italy, and Romania.

General Mladic ordered that surface-to-surface rockets of the Luna 2 type be positioned in Blazuj, which is approximately 15 km away from the center of Sarajevo,

and that mines be planted in the zone surrounding the rockets. One of the mine fields is situated in Livada, which stretches from (?Pejton) settlement toward (?Odez). These rockets have such a destructive power that, if activated, they could create a 15-m deep crater. The power to order their activation is normally in the hands of the armed forces General Staff and the Supreme Command in Belgrade, but General Mladic has personally taken command over them.

This information was supplied by two colonels who are Ratko Mladic's close assistants and who, as they said, do not want to be sacrificed for the crazed and uncontrolled motives of this general, who is day and night surrounded by four armored vehicles [pancir]. Immediate action by the responsible international organs is required to prevent the unforeseeable destruction caused by the continued usage of these nerve, unconventional, and destructive means. [passage omitted]

Reaction to Confederal Agreement in Split

92BA0956A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 92 p 2

[Article by Z. Vukovic and N. Buturovic: "Betrayal of the People and the Citizens"—first paragraph is BORBA introduction]

[Text] Reactions to the agreement between the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] and the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] in Split on a confederation of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia and a military pact; the official authorities, as well as Alija Izetbegovic, are still keeping silent; the SDA has definitely lost any legitimacy as a representative of most Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina, according to VECERNJE NOVOSTI; the Split agreement gives the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] the right to undertake reciprocal measures, in Dr. Muhamed Filipovic's opinion; only naive and gullible people can think that Bosnia-Hercegovina can be preserved and ruled in a pact of two against one, OSLOBODJENJE warns.

Sarajevo—Treason and the sale of Bosnia-Hercegovina are the words being used to express the disgust in Sarajevo over the Split agreement between the SDA and the HDZ of Bosnia-Hercegovina on a confederation of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina and a military pact between these two states. Representatives of the incomplete republic authorities did not even address the public yesterday and explain to citizens how and why they took upon themselves the right to decide on Bosnia-Hercegovina's status as a state. Journalists simply cannot find an interlocutor. Admittedly, this question was addressed to Stjepan Kljuic, but he refused to say anything.

It seems that the public's mood is best illustrated by yesterday's commentary in Sarajevo's VECERNJE NOVOSTI. For the sake of a wretched and disgraceful survival in power, all the sufferings and tears of the birth of a democratic and independent Bosnia-Hercegovina have been sold, this newspaper feels, emphasizing that through that disgraceful agreement the SDA has lost any legitimacy as a representative of most Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The SDA has definitely become national, elitist, and even autocratic, because its leadership took upon itself the right to agree on political solutions without the will of the citizens. One party, the parliament, or the government cannot usurp for itself the right to agree on a confederation and a military pact.

Feeling that the Split agreement is particularly damaging because it comes as unexpected "manna from heaven" for "the criminal and extremist part of the SDS headed by Radovan Karadzic, who will be given new trump cards by this agreement and whose political life will be extended," VECERNJE NOVOSTI notes that the tripartite, and recently bipartite authority of the national parties could never have been able to survive.

"It is now the turn of the members of the Presidency, which in this time of war has taken over the jurisdiction of the Assembly and the parliament, to speak out. Nikola Koljevic and Biljana Plavcic have already done so with their resignations and transfers to Radovan Karadzic's war headquarters. Kljuic has disassociated himself, and Franjo Boras has joined Mate Boban's faction. It is Alija Izetbegovic's move. As the leader of the SDA, he has spoken out. As the president of the Bosnia-Hercegovian Presidency, it remains for Izetbegovic, if he has any honor, to disassociate himself from the agreement that has been signed or submit his resignation. There is no third possibility," warns the Sarajevo newspaper, emphasizing that the Presidency has to persist with the political platform of an independent and sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina, equally close to and distant from both Serbia and Croatia, in which there will be neither Serbian nor Croatian paramilitary formations, and on which decisions will not be made by political satellites from the SDS and the HDZ, or power-lovers from the SDA, but rather by the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"If the SDA and the HDZ, which actually hold power in Bosnia-Hercegovina, also have the right to undertake immediately practical measures for the implementation of this confederal link, that gives the SDS the right to undertake reciprocal measures itself," felt Dr. Muhamed Filipovic, vice president of the MBO [Bosnian Muslim Organization], warning that after the Split agreement war could break out between Muslims and Croats, on one hand, and Serbs on the other. "It would be an ethnic war and we have to avoid it," Filipovic said.

Dr. Nijaz Durakovic, the leader of the SDP, thinks that implementation of the Split agreement would be an act of betrayal of all those who have been dying for two months now for a free, sovereign, and united Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"That agreement can be additional justification for the criminal and aggressive policy of the SDS, with the explanation that they fought from the start against the danger of some new NDH [Independent State of

Croatia]. On the other hand, a considerable number of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs have been put in a very awkward situation, especially those who perceive Bosnia-Hercegovina as their own homeland and who have fought and are fighting in this war for its freedom. If this agreement were to be carried out, those people would be directly pushed into the arms of the SDS and all those who want a strict partition of Bosnia-Hercegovina on a national basis," stated Dr. Nijaz Durakovic.

Yesterday's issue of the Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE, in its lead commentary on the front page, felt that the bilateral agreement in Split represented "a lack of feeling for political realities and the major consequences of this kind of confederal adventure, both for the peoples and for the state." Party meetings at which the fate of a state is decided are, to put it mildly, party usurpation of the state, OSLOBODJENJE wrote, emphasizing that the Split agreement had left disappointed at least two classes of Serbs: those who had begun to leave the SDS because of the brutal aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina, and those who had already risen in defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina, considering it their homeland. The only one who will benefit directly, both politically and in terms of propaganda, is Radovan Karadzic. There is no power that can force Serbs in these times to live in a confederal community, no matter how attractive it looks, and without their political will Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot be whole, either. Only naive and gullible people can think that Bosnia-Hercegovina can be preserved and ruled in a pact of two against one, according to OSLOBODJENJE.

Yesterday reactions from so-called ordinary citizens were still absent in the republic media, and there was also no insight into the reactions of the SDS; this is serving many people as proof that the Split agreement suits the Serbian side, and in the final analysis, is only part of some plan that was prepared a long time ago.

Sarajevo Professor Analyzes Split Agreement

92BA0956B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 92 p 2

[Statement by Sarajevo university professor Salih Foco: "War of Annihilation"—first paragraph is BORBA introduction]

[Text] If the agreement were at all a reality, and not just stupidity, it would mean the final collapse of Bosnia-Hercegovina and an ethnic war of annihilation among its peoples.

Dr. Salih Foco, a university professor in Sarajevo, has prepared a special analysis of the Split agreement, especially for BORBA.

"Analyzing the draft agreement from the standpoint of constitutional law, several issues arise, not just from the standpoint of valid norms of the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which virtually does not yet have any, but rather from the standpoint of the international legal code. In terms of its political measures, legal aspects, and means of functioning, Bosnia-Hercegovina is demonstrating itself to be a totalitarian and undemocratic state. All the functional 'legitimate' authority is concentrated in four people, or one body that has a legal basis for its existence in an 'invalid' constitution. An official body that is functioning, while implementing functions entrusted by the constitution and other regulations, does not exist at any lower organizational level. The government's offered resignation was not accepted by the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and citizens have been skillfully manipulated through the demand for its reconstruction. The mandate of the prime minister-designate, however, lasts for 48 hours, and not 40 days, as is the case now. That kind of manipulation and desires for authority and power are only characteristic of imposed systems. The decision made by the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina on appointing its commission for the city of Sarajevo was noted as an example only back during the time of Stalin's rule. For further arguments and classifications of systems of rule, I refer the more curious ones to David Held's study, 'Models of Democracy.' It is from that sort of state system and system of rule that the agreement on a confederal relationship between Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia could arise. The very method of the adoption of the agreement essentially means a usurpation and abuse of power. There are several arguments for that assertion:

"In the first place, the possessor of sovereignty in any state is not a political party or faction, but rather the citizens.

"In the second place, the agreement was concluded between two Bosnia-Hercegovina parties, and not the two states, but unfortunately that agreement and its content are being explained by the highest officials. They have apparently forgotten that they represent citizens, and not political parties.

"In the third place, such an agreement, concluded under conditions in which not even minimal policies and other prerequisites exist for a democratic process of decision-making by citizens, is considered null and void.

"In the fourth place, the constitutional-law situation and position of Bosnia-Hercegovina are undefined, because it is not known whether it is a complete, sovereign, independent, democratic, or totalitarian state, so what kind of relationship can it enter into with other states, and on the basis of what legal prerequisites?

"In the fifth place, there is no system of authority in the republic, and implementation of the agreement is not possible by democratic means, unless it is the annexation of parts of Bosnia or Herceg-Bosnia. From what has been said so far, from the standpoint of constitutional law, such actions can be characterized as a betrayal of the peoples and citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina by the representatives of the highest authority. The agreement that has been offered, if it were at all a reality, and not just

stupidity, would mean the final collapse of Bosnia-Hercegovina and an ethnic war of annihilation among its peoples."

Confrontations in Sarajevo, Vicinity Continue

No 'Serious' Overnight Clashes

LD0306065192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0608 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Sarajevo, June 3 (TANJUG)—There were no serious armed clashes in the night of Tuesday-Wednesday [2-3 June] in Sarajevo, the capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina (BiH), a republic which has been the scene of civil war for the past two months.

Compared with the previous nights, this night was relatively quiet. There was, nevertheless, fighting around midnight in the city's Grbavica section, where mostly small arms were used.

Evacuation is to begin on Wednesday at 8 A.M. (local time) of a barracks in Sarajevo in which Yugoslav Army members have been under blockade by the Moslem-Croat forces for several weeks.

The withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from the BiH was under a Yugoslav Presidency decision to have been completed by May 19, but certain barracks in Sarajevo were under blockade over the demands of the Republic's Moslem-Croat controlled government that heavy armament be left behind.

According to the latest in a series of agreements on evacuation of the last barracks in Sarajevo, the Yugoslav Army members would take with them only personal arms.

Serbs Appeal to International Public

LD0206171592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1554 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 2 (TANJUG)—"Physical extermination through genocide has threatened the Serb people in the territories of Bosnia-Hercegovina since the outbreak of the war there," the Belgrade-based bureau of the government of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina said on Tuesday [2 June] in an appeal to the international public.

The government appeal described the most drastic examples to back their claims. The government said that 300 Serbs, including many children and old people, were massacred in the Sarajevo suburb of Pofalici 15 days ago.

A month ago, 800 Serbs from the town of Livno, including many children and old people, were placed in a local camp by Croat forces. Nothing is known about their fate, the government said.

Some 4,000 Serbs have been exposed to severe suffering in the northern Bosnian town of Odzak for weeks, the government said, specifying that the Serbs had been taken away by the Croatian army.

Thousands of Serbs, including several hundred children aged under ten, are being held prisoner by Croatian units in a railway tunnel, near the town of Bradina, at the border between Hercegovina and Bosnia. The Croatian formations have forbidden any contact with the captured people, the government said.

A camp for Serbs has been set up in the town of Celebici, in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Men prisoners are taken away from the camp in the night never to be heard of again, the appeal said.

The government of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina called on "the conscience of responsible people and the obligation of all humanitarian organizations to do their utmost to end the suffering of innocent people and to save their lives."

Muslims Blamed for Failed Cease-Fire

AU0206145892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Risto Djogo report from Sarajevo]

[Text] All the prisoners held by both the Serbian and the Muslim sides should have been exchanged today at 1230 GMT. It is thought that this involves several thousand people. However, the agreement that was reached yesterday was not respected today. The exchange should have taken place in Stup. The exchange did not take place because the Muslim side is not interested in its people who have been captured by the Serbian authorities. They are simply asking for food and weapons in exchange for the Serbs, and they no longer want the captured Muslims in their ranks.

It is true that the Muslim side is claiming that the prisoner exchange did not happen because of the impassability of the Sarajevo-Pale road, which was used by hundreds of people today, and no one mentioned any problems with the traffic on this road.

That means that the agreement on the prisoner exchange has not been respected, just as the cease-fire agreed for 1600 GMT last night has not been respected. That is to say, at 1855, Muslim forces violated the cease-fire with mortar fire at Vrace. At 0500 this morning, the Rajlovac barracks was attacked from (?Gorakov) Potok and from the region of Sokolje Brdo, and from the Jusuf Dzonlic barracks, which Major General Nedeljko Boskovic handed over to the Muslim Green Berets with a large quantity of heavy weapons.

During the attacks on Vrace, a house was hit and the Vrace memorial park was damaged, although there was no significant damage.

There has also been considerable shooting in the Trnovo Commune. That is to say, Muslim forces have been

constantly attacking in the outlying areas of this commune towards the villages of (?Curovi) and Godinje but the Serbian army is successfully defending itself.

'Terrorists' Fire on Aid Convoy

LD0206181292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina Press has reported that a convoy which set off this afternoon toward Dobrinja carrying five tons of food and medicine has not reached its destination. UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] representatives who were safeguarding one bus carrying food and medicines and one minibus carrying Children's Embassy [a charitable organization] staff had been given guarantees from the Yugoslav Army and terrorists that they the humanitarian aid would be allowed to pass through to Dobrinja. Near the district of Mojmilo, however, they opened fire with an anti-aircraft gun, seriously injuring two people in the bus that was carrying the food.

The UNPROFOR representatives attempted to approach the bus to help the wounded, but were unable to do so as the terrorists kept on firing in the air and warned them against coming closer. Nothing is known about the fate of the wounded.

Serbs Complete Village 'Cleansing'

LD0206204592 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] We have learned from the information center of the Serb municipality of Ilidza that the Serb army has cleansed the village of Ahatovici. Green Berets assisted by the Muslims from Ahatovici were attacking the Butmir barracks and the Reljevo settlement from that village during the past four days. The cleansing was successfully completed, and Reljevo is now under the control of the Serb forces from the Ilidza sector. The Serb forces sufferred no casualties.

Death Toll 5,700 So Far

LD0306091792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0805 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] According to the Center of Health and Social Service in Bosnia-Hercegovina, to date 5,700 people have been killed and more than 22,000 wounded in that republic. Hundreds of thousands of residents are living in areas which have been cut off by Yugoslav Army and paramilitary forces and these lack food and medicine.

Number of Refugees Increases

LD0206165892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1442 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Banja Luka, June 2 (TANJUG)—There are more than 120,000 refugees in Bosanska Krajina, a region in the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the number is increasing daily, the regional office for refugees said on Tuesday [2 June].

Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina proclaimed the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the territories where they are the majority population, after the European Community had recognized Bosnia-Hercegovina as an independent state at the request of the republic's Moslems and Croats, but against the will of the Serbs.

The vast majority of the refugees are Serbs, but there are also Moslems and Croats. The Bosnaska Krajina regional office accepts all refugees, regardless of their nationality. Last month alone, 280 Moslem refugees were accepted and accomodated in Serbia.

The office says that the conditions are very difficult and that they could still deteriorate, as all road and rail traffic with Serbia has been interrupted because of the war.

The Republic of Serbia, the International Red Cross Organization and the U.N. high commissioner for refugees had all sent aid to refugees in Bosnia-Hercegovina through Serbia until traffic was disrupted.

Ban Imposed on Serbian, Montenegrin Shipping

LD0206174392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Acting on the basis of the UN Security Council resolution 757 regarding sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro, resulting from the aggression against the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Croatian Ministry of Maritime Affairs has issued the following order:

All ships sailing under the Yugoslav flag, i.e. vessels of Serbia and Montenegro, are banned from sailing into the territorial and internal waters and the ports of the Republic of Croatia. The ban refers to all ships regardless of their owner's citizenship and residency, and also ships which are owned or run by citizens of Serbia and Montenegro. At the same time, all ports, port authorities, enterprises, and institutions of the Croatian maritime industry are banned from organizing any activity in connection with goods from Serbia and Montenegro or with products whose owners come from the two republics.

The Ministry of Maritime Affairs bans all vessels belonging to the Republic of Croatia, or those that are the property of Croatian ship-owners, regardless of flag, from sailing to ports of Montenegro and Serbia. The ban, which comes into force immediately, does not affect medical and humanitarian goods.

State Council Discusses Sanctions Against FRY

LD0206161592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Today, Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman convened the 50th session of the Supreme State Council, which thoroughly examined UN Security Council Resolution No. 757 on the application of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], Serbia, and Montenegro, and demands stemming from the resolution with regard to the neighboring state of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The council concluded that the resolution represented firm confirmation of a military and diplomatic victory for the Republic of Croatia over the aggressor. Measures that the international community is already implementing represent a new quality of international pressure on Serbia and Montenegro.

The council proposed to the Croatian Government to examine all measures that should be taken in order to coordinate the policy of the Republic of Croatia with the resolution and to inform the UN secretary general by 22 June about the measures that the Republic of Croatia is going to introduce in order to meet the obligations stemming from the resolution. The council concluded that the new measures that the international community introduced against Serbia and Montenegro, not excluding possible military intervention, represent a step closer to the denouement of the Yugoslav crisis.

The council holds that the international community should pressure Serbia to recognize the borders of the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, which would create conditions for the end of hostilities, both in Croatia and in Bosnia-Hercegovina, a statement from the office of the president of the republic says.

'Chetnik' Artillery Continues 'Pounding' Dubrovnik

LD0306081892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Josko Jelavic report from Dubrovnik]

[Excerpt] Again, highly-destructive bombs have been pounding Dubrovnik, and its densely populated residential areas. As in previous days, the main targets are civilian facilities, and as so often in this dirty war that Serbia and Montenegro have been waging against Croatia, cultural monuments of the highest civilizational value.

Renewed attacks on the city's outskirts and the positions of the Croatian army began at 0320 GMT this morning. Shortly after 0630, shells began hitting the city. Dubrovnik is being attacked from positions in the Trebinje municipality by the so-called Serb Army of the so-called Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina from where Dubrovnik has been pounded by Chetnik artillery over the last few days. [passage omitted]

Official Says Unity Needed To Thwart Serbia

AU0106131192 Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 May 92 p 7A

[Branko Podgornik report: "Croatia Needs Unity Again"]

[Text] Zagreb—"Croatia is again at the crossroads, as it was last summer, and it again needs the spiritual unity that reigned nine months ago. There is discord today, and the internal conflicts are endangering all that we have achieved so far," Dr. Zdravko Tomac, Croatian vice prime minister, underlined at the theological discussion "Future of Croatia," which took place on Tuesday evening, in front of a packed audience in the Vijenac hall on Kaptol. Tomac expressed his gratitude to the Church "for the strength it has always given to our people in hard times."

Greeted with cheers from the audience, Professor Tomac said that "there is an atmosphere in Croatia that someone here is responsible for the crimes and the continued war, and not our enemy. There are those who have stood aside during the war, and now accuse the leadership, president, and parliament for it. They want to destabilize Croatia completely."

"The war in Croatia cannot be over while there is war in Bosnia-Hercegovina," Tomac said. Speaking of Bosnia-Hercegovina, he said that "there has been some wandering, and wrong moves have been made, but the government has never meandered." He added, "I said so

to Cardinal Kuharic. Our policies towards Bosnia-Hercegovina have always had great support from the Catholic Church, whose strategy has been identical to the government's from the very start."

The vice prime minister said that the Karadzic-Boban agreement had caused considerable damage to Croatia, both internally and abroad, but also in the view of the Muslims, and that at the time when they had already realized that they would have to defend themselves against the aggressors. "This damage has been remedied by the agreement between Croats and Muslims in Split," which, in his words, was "of great significance for the future of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. An alliance is finally being formed against the common enemy, and the military forces of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina will unite." The announcement of the confederation of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and talks with Izetbegovic, were "a direct message to Belgrade that, if Belgrade continues to wage war against them, these two sovereign countries will form a military alliance, and seek international military help," Tomac stressed.

Tomac added that "it is important for our future to expand this alliance, and that our friends, Albanians, finally realize that this is their last historic chance to do something, because independent statehood cannot be acquired merely by justice and diplomatic strife. There is no other option but to employ all diplomatic and military means to force Serbia to give up the notion of Greater Serbia."

According to Tomac, it was in Croatia's interest to give its full support to the UN peace forces. "Those who want us to drive away the peace forces are wrong, because that is exactly what our enemy wants. If we support the peace forces, and Serbian army drives them away, and if we are admitted into the UN, the world will not stand by and let a small country get away with disrupting order. It will have to intervene in another way."

Stressing that Croatia needed unity in its strategy towards Bosnia-Hercegovina, the program for the return of the displaced people, and the concept of restoration, Tomac added that Croatia also needed "a fairer program for the distribution of poverty, which will only get worse." Speaking of the future of Croatia, Tomac underlined that it would have to be based on a legal state, and spiritual revival. In that context, he considered it dangerous that a politician "can come to think he is something of a little god, who can decide others people's destiny."

He said that elections could not be held without internal unity, and before consensus was reached on the most important matters. "If the present political conflicts were to continue, disregarding national interests, then we would end up working for our enemy."

Asked about possible changes in the government, Tomac said that "some have realized how to fight for power." He himself saw three solutions. Firstly, the gravity of the situation should be realized, the agreement between parties reinstated, and unity restored until Croatia was liberated. Second, this government could be dismissed, a one-party government formed, and elections called. And third, there should be a government of continuity until elections were held, since, according to Tomac, there were signs from abroad that Croatia could otherwise be destabilized. Tomac said that this should soon be decided by the parties, the government, and the president of the republic.

Minister Cesar Submits Resignation Letter

AU0206145992 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 92 p 3

["Text" of resignation letter of Croatian Minister Ivan Cesar; place and date not given: "I Resign"]

[Text] Zagreb—Dr. Ivan Cesar, minister in the Croatian Government and president of the Christian Democrat Party of Croatia [HKDS], has delivered his letter of resignation to Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric. His resignation will be discussed at the next session of the government. The statement issued by the HKDS information office says that Dr. Cesar remains firm in his decision to resign. The following is the text of his resignation letter:

"Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

"I entered the government of democratic unity because of unity (not equality) and in order to mobilize all Croatian Christian democratic forces in the defense of the homeland. I have achieved those aims on the basis of Christian democratic principles.

"Knowing that the war in Croatia was not over—despite claims to the contrary—I stayed in the government even after its reconstruction, disregarding some acts and statements made at home and abroad by the ruling party, which were intended to damage the HKDS interests.

"It is a well-known fact that the HKDS is resolutely promoting human rights and peace policies. In its manifesto, the HKDS insists that the Helsinki declaration be respected. At the government session, when the draft change was proposed on the constitutional bill on human rights and the rights of ethnic communities and minorities in the Republic of Croatia, I opposed that draft on the grounds that the horrible Greater Serbian aggression against Croatians was still continuing and the displaced people were still not being allowed to return to their homes. However, the parliament adopted the change to the bill, and it has since been implemented. It has enabled the Serbs in Knin and Glina to elect organs of authority in which there are no Croats, since they were all previously evicted.

"This bill, I am deeply convinced, does not protect the interests of the Croatian population, nor those of the "minorities", and it is not contributing to the defense of the homeland. After the bill was adopted, I wanted to go to Knin, but could not. The imprisoned and suffering people there should be visited. After that [not further

specified] and after talking to people who have been evicted from the aforementioned places, I am convinced that the bill has opened the door to the permanent destabilization of relations between nationalities, at the expense of the Croats.

"Too many mistakes have been made in the attitude towards Bosnia-Hercegovina, particularly regarding the refugees. The government could not affect any of it, not because it did not know how to, but because everything was solved without it being consulted.

"You, Mr. Prime Minister, and the government have sought and proposed a series of solutions to overcome economic difficulties, but none of them will have any effect because of the leadership's incoherent attitude towards the war in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the attempts of the government....

"The HKDS manifesto and the basic determinants of the agreement prior to the entry in the government of democratic unity, do not allow me to stay any longer in this government, which has to respect the bill and which will not be able, in this way, to solve the worsening economic difficulties....

"My resignation does not imply that I am going to abandon the vital aim of the unity and defense of the country, and I do not deny the government's successes, but I cannot share responsibility for the consequences of the adopted bill.... I request, Mr. Prime Minister, that you accept my resignation from the duty of minister in the government of the Republic of Croatia.

"Kindly accept my deepest respect and gratitude.

"Yours sincerely, Ivan Cesar."

Changes in Greguric's Cabinet Cause Uncertainty

AU0206153592 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 92 p 3

[Unattributed commentary: "Dispersion of Greguric's Cabinet"]

[Text] Yet another resignation in the government of the Republic of Croatia leads one to the conclusion that it is a matter of days before its present assembly definitely disperses. As a reminder, Greguric's cabinet is now minus Dr. Vlado Veselica, Drazen Budisa, Bosiljko Misetic, and, as of yesterday, Dr. Ivan Cesar. The government of national unity is without representatives of the Croatian National Party, the Croatian Social Liberal Party, the Croatian Democratic Party, and the Croatian Christian Democratic Party. Only members of the Social Democratic Party, and Socialist Party remain, together with a non-party structure with an increased number of representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ]. At the moment when it seemed that the revived structure with a larger number of HDZ ministers, and minister Zvonimir Baletic's switch to that party, would satisfy the right wing of the HDZ and its demand for "pure HDZ authorities", it turned out that the government's state is still complicated, owing to the pressure by those who decide its structure.

The latest changes in the government have, because of the methods used, left a feeling of uncertainty (some found out that they had to leave from the newspapers). Cesar's move gives rise to speculation, not to mention unofficial announcements of the departure of the foreign minister, prime minister, and two deputy prime ministers. Those who are responsible have, unfortunately, done nothing to dispel suspicions. The only one who has offered some sort of an explanation is Deputy Prime Minister Zdravko Tomac, who is one of those included in the possible changes. At a theological discussion on Kaptol [not further identified], he said that internal conflicts were once again jeopardizing Croatia. Taking into account the war and the complex international circumstances, Dr. Tomac said that unity is necessary in at least the following: the strategy towards the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, return of displaced people to their homes, and a fairer distribution of the increasing poverty. Underlining that national interests had to be placed above political rivalry, otherwise one was working for one's enemy, Tomac gave three possible solutions: to reinstate the agreement between parties on the structure of the government, to dismiss the government, and to form a one-party government, or to keep this government as one of continuity until elections were called.

If it is true that Greguric's cabinet has still not changed enough, then it is unclear why the changes were not completed along with the recent ones decided by President Tudjman. These conspicuously frequent staff changes say something about those who define policies.

So the idea is confirmed that no one is irreplaceable and that it does not matter who is in what function. What is the impression these changes leave on the world, where Croatia is yet to win respect? How can foreigners be expected to deal with a new person each time delicate political and economic matters are discussed? Croatia needs financial help. Reactions are not positive, and the only hope remains that there is someone who is taking care of all that, for the sake of the voters, the difficult present, and an increasingly uncertain future.

UN Admission Expected To Change Government

AU0106130192 Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 May 92 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Changes in Government?"]

[Text] Will Croatia's admission into the UN, predicted for 22 May, cause a chain reaction of departures from the Croatian Government by even those few remaining "unity" members? To judge by the well-informed parliament barroom talk, then at the first session upon admittance in the UN, expected on Saturday, the government could be deprived of its prime minister, Dr. Franjo Greguric, and two vice prime ministers, Dr. Zdravko Tomac, and Jurica Pavelic.

Since it has already been forecast that Dr. Zvonimir Separovic is to take the ambassador's seat in the UN, one can expect the nomination of a new minister for foreign affairs. As for the government, it is said that Mladen Vedris is the safe, and, for the time being, only candidate for prime minister.

The denouement is close, the well-informed say, and expected by 1 June at the latest.

Tudjman Gives Letters to UN Ambassador

LD0106200592 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman handed diplomatic letters of credence to the newly appointed ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to the United Nations, Dr. Zvonimir Separovic, who will hand them to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali.

Possible New Candidates for Prime Minister Viewed

AU0206155192 Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 23 May 92 p 6A

[Aleksa Crnjakovic commentary: "Mesic Versus Vedris?"]

[Text] Zagreb—Mladen Vedris seems to be getting a barroom rival. It was only a matter of time before more people got into the unofficial race for the prime minister's position, considering the fact that it would have really been abnormal had not a greater number of politically ambitious and politically interested candidates emerged. Political conflicts are always accompanied by political barrooms.

Stipe Mesic is said to be the new name for the prime minister's position. In view of the fact that he has already been prime minister, true, only for a short time, his appointment as prime minister would not be a complete surprise. However, some would be surprised considering that the inner-party battles have already begun, and one of them is connected to Stipe Mesic's name.

The last thing one could say about Stipe Mesic is that he is a born politician. Although he was in politics during the turbulent seventies and the pre-war eighties, he simply does not have what it takes to be a politician. This is constantly being proved by his "slips", which are judged by many as unbefitting of a politician of any caliber. But, despite that, he is still one of the most favorite politicians and is forgiven of all his "slips" and unfulfilled promises. However, all that would not be enough to secure him Greguric's place in the "interim" period before new elections are called. If he wins against Vedris, it will be only because he is, as they say, "the Croatian Democratic Community's front man." And that is one of the important conditions, we suppose, if the government is to have vital influence in the pre-election campaigning. The prime minister's seat would secure Mesic a position at the top of the government's list for the representatives' house.

There is another name in circulation: Dr. Jure Radic, minister for science, professor at the Engineering college, and president of the university assembly. He is mentioned now as another candidate for the prime minister's seat, although political experts say that it is only an unfounded rumor. However, he has many virtues on his side: youth (42), expertise (prominent scientist and engineer with specialization in the construction of bridges), family pedigree (famous Franciscan family—one uncle, Jure Radic, is a founder of the museum of sea shells in Makarska, another one, Nikola, was guardian in Zaostrog, and provincial assistant [definitor] of the Franciscan order in Rome), and family (father of five). If you were to ask Dr. Radic whether he will be a prime ministerial candidate, he would probably look at you with disbelief, and say: "I have not heard a thing about it. No one has asked me about it." It remains to be seen whether the stories circulating in the government's corridors, and they are an unofficial part of every official policy, will prove to be true.

In any case, it would be good if the government was finally stabilized, with or without Greguric, Mesic, and Radic, with new or the current ministers (one of the stories is that Hrvoje Sarinic, the president's chief of cabinet, could become the new minister for foreign affairs), be it an interim government, or one of continuity.

New Left-Wing Political Party Founded

LD0106112392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0919 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Zagreb, June 1 (TANJUG)—A new left-wing party called the Social Democratic Union (SDU), among whose founders is former Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic, was founded in Zagreb on Sunday.

The SDU has emerged from Markovic's Party of Reformist Forces, the League of Social Democrats and the Democratic Opposition Forum, and with the support of a group of independent intellectuals.

Police banned the SDU founding meeting as a group of extremists raided the hall, where the meeting was to be held on May 9, and attacked the participants. However, the SDU says May 9, the day of victory over fascism, is the date of its foundation.

The main objective of the newly-formed party is to overcome the ethnic exclusivism and establish democracy in Croatia, as set out at the founding.

The SDU president, economics Professor Branko Horvat, said the SDU would call for "peace, territorial integrity of Croatia and its economic prosperity."

"This could be achieved only by the party which is free of the hypothec of the communist regime—non-democracy, and also of that of the present regime—revanchism and chauvinism," said Horvat.

According to Horvat, the SDU already has several thousand members.

Damage on Adriatic Oil Pipeline Assessed

LD0106211392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] After a close inspection, Jadranski Naftovod [the Adriatic oil pipeline] commission concluded that the Chetniks had totally destroyed the Jadranski Naftovod pipeline oil terminal in Bosanski Brod.

Two oil storage tanks of 500,000 tonnes capacity each were totally destroyed and burned down, while the third one has been considerably damaged. The damage is estimated at 10 million German marks. In all probability, it will not be possible to repair this terminal soon, it was said among other things at the news conference at the Jadranski Naftovod headquarters in Zagreb.

Since last September, only sections of the Jadranski Naftovod at Omisalj [the island of Krk] and between Sisak and the Hungarian border have been in operation, as the enemy has been in control of the section between Vojnic and Petrinja. The profit lost to date is assessed to be between $60 and $70 million. A proposal to avoid the crisis area by constructing a bypass pipeline via Gorski Kotar, was assessed by the director of the Jadranski Naftovod, Ante Cicin, as unrealistic, because it would cost at least $100 million, and the construction would take one to one and a half years.

In this enterprise, they are convinced that the UN peace-keeping forces will be deployed soon in this area and that they will enable the normal work of the Jadranski Naftovod on the section between Omisalj and the Hungarian border, in which Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland are particularly interested.

Program for Implementation of Law on Human Rights

92BA0940C Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 15 May 92 p 3

[Unattributed article: "The War Is Frustrating Minority Rights"]

[Text] Zagreb—Along with concern about the 15 ethnic communities or minorities that live in Croatia and coordination of their activity, the Office for Interethnic Relations of the Government of the Republic of Croatia, which is headed by Milan Djukic, has also drafted a program for implementing the constitutional law on human rights and the rights of ethnic communities or minorities. The program spells out the measures, names those who are to perform tasks, and establishes the relevant deadlines.

Milan Djukic says that the office is responsible for implementing that part of the constitutional law which pertains to cultural autonomy and the rights that follow from the proportional electoral system.

Rights in the field of cultural autonomy are now fully enjoyed only by the Italians, while all the other minorities enjoy them only partially, depending on whether they live in temporarily occupied areas or areas in the immediate vicinity of the front.

Djukic emphasized that it is still unclear which laws are being enforced in the temporarily occupied regions. "The so-called krajinas are not states, and accordingly they have been unable to adopt laws."

Djukic holds that quality enforcement of that constitutional law with respect to the Serbian community requires quality organization of the Serbs in Croatia, and that is what already exists for Istria, Rijeka, and Gorski Kotar.

"But until the war stops, and Croatia liberates its territories, it is difficult to expect any well-thought-out organization of Serbs throughout Croatia, one in which they will express their needs and desires to preserve their national identity, especially when it comes to opening schools, publishing journals, representation in the news media, and so on," Djukic says.

Speaking about the section of the constitutional law on the rights of proportional participation of ethnic groups in the government, Djukic said that we need to wait for the elections.

"Croatia is being destroyed, an unprecedented genocide is being committed against it. That is why it is not difficult for revanchism to arise at a time when the law-governed state is still not functioning in all parts because of the war," M. Djukic said.

The situation of members of small ethnic minorities, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, and Austrians is particularly difficult. The fate of the Gypsies is also uncertain.

Since the beginning of the war, the office has received complaints because of termination of employment of 770 persons, 990 complaints because of threats to property, and 665 persons have reported other cases of violation of their rights. In most cases, the office has tried to resolve the problems in cooperation with the local authorities. If the office judges that the complaint is justified, members of the office go to the field within 48 hours and on their return present a report on the situation, together with all the important data, to the president of the republic and the prime minister.

Recently, a council of representatives of minorities, on which one member of each minority sits, was established, Milan Djukic said.

Kucan Addresses Domestic, Foreign Policy Issues

92P20284 Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene
19 May 92 p 4

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 19 May—In yesterday's extensive interview on Radio Glas Ljubljana [Voice of Ljubljana Radio], President of the Presidency Milan Kucan spoke, in detail, about a number of topics of current interest related to the foreign and domestic policy of Slovenia. We are presenting the following summary of his speech.

When the matter of our road to independence arose, we Slovenes demonstrated the necessary measure of unity, patience, and tolerance. We demonstrated that we were truly a European state and that, even now, when we are faced with difficulties in our domestic affairs, we have desired the settlement of economic and social conditions, and we have been able to achieve a measure of a feeling of mutual benefit.

In regard to Slovenia's relations with Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia, agreements have been signed or are expected to be signed, but Serbia and Montenegro have not shown any such desire. We must take into account the fact that, except for Macedonia, all the republics are in a state of war, and wartime issues are not the same as peacetime issues. Although we are living in peace, at this moment, there are too many sensitive issues for Croatia to bring up the issue of a sea border since this could be interpreted as some sort of a new claim against its territory. I am not a pessimist. We will have to wait until the situation gets a bit better and until the commission for setting sea borders meets. The basis is international convention and, if this is not sufficient, we can have more discussions. That is our only alternative.

The refugee situation. According to international law, we are dealing with people who have been expelled from their homes because of purges on the basis of nationality. There have been a number of ideas as to how to resolve this problem, ranging from the formation of a peace zone in Bosnia to the convocation of an international conference on refugees. Not only us, but the whole world has to deal with the new phenomena. It is a question of conflicts among nationalities, religious faiths, and races that requires a new analysis of the situation and a careful search for new solutions. For us, the wave of refugees is truly unmanageable. Therefore, there must be pressure on Italy and Austria so that this stream of refugees will flow towards Europe.

As for domestic political events and changes in the government, especially my cooperation with Lojze Peterle, I have often said that this cooperation is not the best and, lately, there has not been any cooperation at all. I wish that many things were different. The achievements of the government and its president cannot be evaluated in a clear-cut way. You know how I was elected and what wishes were addressed to me, but it was impossible to move mountains.

In regard to the leftist thrust and whether there has been criticism by international public opinion, even with the mobilization of international policy, which would be cautious in financial and in other agreements with Slovenia, it is not advisable to treat this separately since this might have serious consequences. We think that everyone who is talking about this, everyone who is interested in a renewal of the past, must ask himself what the real political and social forces in Slovenia are. We Slovenes have reached the highest stage of national consciousness, and it would be unkind of us to abandon this past. In brief, if the government falls, it would be because of this kind or some other kind of a thrust. The government should be evaluated on the basis of the implementation of its program. Either it has been successful or unsuccessful. If the government directs attention to social issues, in my opinion, this does not mean that it is leftist. [passage omitted]

Government Assumes Management of TANJUG Assets

AU0206111692 Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene
29 May 92 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Slovenia Takes Over the Management of TANJUG Property"]

[Text] The government at yesterday's session authorized the Ministry of Information and Ministry of Justice and Administration, that they, as of today, take over the management of all movable and fixed assets of the TANJUG news agency on the territory of Slovenia. The inventory of the property must be completed by 8 June at the latest.

The functioning of TANJUG and creation of its technical base were financed by all republics and autonomous regions of the former SFRY. By taking over the TANJUG property, Slovenia has merely protected it and prevented its unauthorized use, which is in accordance with constitutional law.

We have learned that the TANJUG representative in Ljubljana was informed beforehand of the decree that the government was planning, which will also help the TANJUG office to operate without hindrance in the future.

Biographic Details on New Slovene Government

AU2905125792 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
15 May 92 p 3

[Unattributed article: "New Slovene Government"]

[Text] Dr. Janez Drnovsek, prime minister, LDS [Liberal Democratic Party], born in 1950, Ph.D. in economics. Past career: director of the Ljubljanska Banka, Yugoslav diplomat at the embassy in Cairo, deputy in the Yugoslav Federal Assembly, president of the SFRY Presidency. At present: LDS president and director of the PHAROS Foundation.

Dr. Joze Pucnik, deputy prime minister of general affairs, SDSS [Social Democratic Party of Slovenia], born in 1932, Ph.D. in social sciences. He is the SDSS president and former president of the Demos coalition. He was persecuted by the regime in the 50's. After his release from prison, he left for Germany where he rose from laborer to professor at Lueneburg University.

Herman Rigelnik, deputy prime minister of economic affairs, with no party affiliation, born in 1942, M.A in marketing. He was an assistant to the director general of Metalna, and director general of Kovinotehna. In the Zemljaric Government he headed the Ministry of Industry and Construction, later Gorenje. He was an adviser to the management of the Ljubljanska Banka.

Viktor Zakelj, deputy prime minister of social services, SSS [Socialist Party of Slovenia], born in 1943, M.A. in economics. He was director of Alpina Ziri, mayor of Skofja Loka, deputy chairman of the Republic Committee for Social Planning, an adviser to the Presidency of Slovenia, since 1990 chairman of the Socialist Party.

Franc Avbersek, minister of energy, born in 1947, M.A. in mining. He was director of the Jama Preloge mine, member of the Board of Directors and chief engineer for development, director of the Board of Directors of the Velenje Lignite Mine, and a deputy in the Chamber of Associated Labor.

Igor Bavcar, Minister of Internal Affairs, DC [Democratic Party], born in 1955, degree in political science. He was a functionary in the Republic Conference of the ZSMS [Alliance of the Socialist Youth of Slovenia] and an expert affiliated with the SZDL [Socialist Alliance of Working People]. He was director of the Ada Graf company. He was minister of internal affairs in the Peterle Government.

Dr. Slavko Gaber, minister of education and sports, LDS [Liberal Democratic Party], born in 1958, Ph.D. in social sciences. He is an instructor of sociology at the School of Education in Ljubljana and a member of the Education Council of the Republic of Slovenia.

Lojze Janko, minister of legislation, no party affiliation, born in 1943, degree in law. He was a deputy chairman of the Republic Committee for Legislation and a councillor in the Executive Council of the Republic. He was minister of legislation in the Peterle government.

Janez Jansa, minister of defense, SDSS [Social Democratic Party of Slovenia], born in 1958, degree in defense studies. He was an adviser to the Republic Secretariat of People's Defense. During the campaign for the president of the ZSMS [Alliance of the Socialist Youth of Slovenia] in the spring of 1988, he was arrested and sentenced for treason, convicted of giving away military secrets. He was defense minister in the Peterle government.

Miha Jazbinsek, minister for protection of environment and regional planning, Greens of Slovenia, born in 1941, degree in architecture. He was director of the Kamnik Bureau, Center for Urban Planning, and the Oikos-Design firm. He was a minister in the Peterle government.

Joze Jeraj, minister of trade, SLS member [Slovene People's Party] but not supported by the party, born in 1938, degree in agronomy. He was a buyer for the Munich Eurosuedosthandel, manager of DO Services, SOZD Kit Ljubljana, deputy chairman of the Executive Council of the Ljubljana Assembly.

Jelko Kacin, minister of information, DS [Democratic Party], born in 1955, degree in defense and political science. He was assistant secretary of people's defense of the Kranj community, deputy secretary of defense of Slovenia. He was minister of information in the Peterle government.

Dr. Davorin Kracun, minister of planning, no party affiliation, born in 1950, Ph.D. in economics. Since 1974 he has been employed at the Maribor School of Economics and Management. He is an assistant professor and researcher.

Janez Kopac, minister of finance, LDS [Liberal Democratic Party], born in 1961, degree in economics. He was employed by Queen's University in Ontario, Canada, and Bayer in Germany, and he was director of financial engineering in Iskra Delta. He is also a court expert for finance and economics.

Miha Kozinc, minister of justice and administration, LDS [Liberal Democratic Party] born in 1952, degree in law. Until now he has practiced law as an attorney. He has become known for the so-called press lawsuits. He was president of the Ljubljana Bar and is a member of the LDS Executive Committee.

Marjan Kranjc, minister of transport and communications, SDSS [Social Democratic Party of Slovenia], born in 1927, degree in civil engineering. He was director of the Ljubljana Highway Project. He worked in the Republic Road Administration and in the Slovenia Consortium for Highway Construction. He was a minister in the Peterle government.

Anka Osterman, minister for war veterans and war disabled, SDP [Party of Social Democratic Renewal], born in 1940, degree in social sciences. She is from Ptuj, where she dealt with social issues. She was a member of the Republic Social Services Committee and director of the Ptuj Social Center.

Joze Protner, minister of agriculture, forestry, and food, LDS [Liberal Democratic Party], born in 1944, M.A. in biology. He was director of the Maribor Agricultural Center, director of the Maribor Slovin Vinag-Wine Trade and a deputy in the chamber of communes. He heads the Maribor branch of LDS.

Dr. Janko Prunk, minister for Slovenes abroad and nationalities in Slovenia, SDSS [Social Democratic Party of Slovenia], born in 1942, Ph.D. in history. He was chairman of the Research Council, an associate of

the Institute for Contemporary History, and author of several scientific works and papers.

Jozica Puhar, minister of labor, SDP [Party of Social Democratic Renewal], born in 1942, degree in social science. She dealt with employment issues, worked for the trade unions, was chairman of the Committee for Employment and deputy chairman of the Republic Labor Committee. She was a minister in the Peterle government.

Dr. Dimitrij Rupel, minister of foreign affairs, DS [Democratic Party], born in 1946, Ph.D. in social science. He was a free-lance artist, and since 1986 an associate professor at the School of Social Science in Ljubljana. He has founded the Slovene Democratic Alliance and was its first chairman. Now he is chairman of the Democratic Party. He was foreign minister in the Peterle government.

Janez Sirse, minister of tourism and hostelry, no party affiliation, born in 1950, degree in economics. He was an associate of the Ljubljana Institute for Economic Research, director of the Center for Tourist and Economic Promotion at the Slovene Chamber of Commerce, a councillor to the SFRY Presidency, and later he worked for the PHAROS Foundation.

Dusan Sesok, minister of industry and construction, no party affiliation, born in 1951, degree in economics. Before he entered politics, he made his name as the director of the Ljubljana Yulon. In the 1990 elections he was a candidate of the Socialist Alliance. He joined the Peterle government as the finance minister after the resignation of Marko Kranjec.

Borut Suklje, minister of culture, SSS [Socialist Party of Slovenia] born in 1958, degree in philosophy. He was a member of the ZSMS [Alliance of the Socialist Youth of Slovenia] Presidency, a member of the Executive Council of the SZDL [Socialist Alliance of the Working People] Presidency, later deputy chairman of the Socialist Party of Slovenia. For a short period of time he was editor-in-chief of the Slovene Television, but he resigned because of disputes with the director general.

Dr. Maks Tajnikar, minister of small business, SDP [Party of Social Democratic Renewal], born in 1951, Ph.D. in economics. He headed the Gea College Business Education Program and worked in academia. He is a professor at the School of Economics in Ljubljana.

Dr. Peter Tancig, minister of science and technology, Greens of Slovenia, born in 1944, Ph.D. in electric engineering. He was a researcher at the Jozef Stefan Institute, headed a lab for the computer aided language research, and was employed as an associate professor at the School of Electrical Engineering. He was a minister in the Peterle Government.

Dr. Bozidar Voljc, minister of health, family, and social services, Greens of Slovenia, born in 1939, M.D. He was director of the Ljubljana Health Center, of the Center for Transfusion, and later a minister in the Peterle government. He replaced Katja Boh, a social democrat.

International

Presidency Urges Cease-Fire on Bosnian Serbs

AU0206184692 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 2 June 92

[Text] The FRY Presidency at today's session, which was also attended by the president of the Republic of Serbia [Slobodan Milosevic] and the president of the Montenegrin Presidency [Momir Bulatovic], examined the UN resolution and the obligations for the FRY stemming from it, which is in line with its efforts to do its utmost to see that all obligations from the UN resolution be implemented consistently.

The Presidency concluded that peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina is not only of vital importance for the FRY but also for all nationalities and citizens who live in the Yugoslav territories.

The Presidency will do everything in its power for the FRY to contribute toward the peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Therefore, the FRY Presidency is calling upon the Serbian leadership in Bosnia-Hercegovina that it, in accordance with the already assumed and publicly declared obligation:

immediately invite the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] representatives to assume control over Sarajevo airport;

instantaneously prevent any bombing of Sarajevo and other towns from the territories that it controls;

bearing in mind it had itself proposed an immediate cease-fire, demand the presence of the UNPROFOR observers in all of its units to facilitate direct monitoring of the observation of cease-fire;

secure and provide guarantees for unhindered passage of any humanitarian aid through the territories that are under its control.

Emphasizing these categorical demands, the FRY Presidency expects that the international community will simultaneously influence the Muslim and Croatian side to behave in the same manner and contribute their share toward the cessation of hostilities.

The FRY Presidency expects conditions for the continuation of the political negotiations on Bosnia-Hercegovina at the Lisbon conference will be created by this.

The FRY Presidency condemns application of any sort of ethnic clearing of the territory by any of the sides, and points out the great responsibility of all sides in the consistent implementation of the protection for all residents regardless of their nationality.

The FRY Presidency emphasizes that any group, political party, or individual who ignores these demands must take responsibility for this in the eyes of the international community, the FRY residents, and the entire Serbian and Montenegrin nation, whose security and future cannot depend on the forces that do not wish peace and negotiations. This is stressed in the statement from today's session of the FRY Presidency.

General Staff Denies Sarajevo Barracks 'Claims'

LD0206140492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1253 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Jun (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Army General Staff information service announced today that claims by the rump Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina to the effect that Yugoslav Army representatives are not accepting conditions for evacuating the cadets stranded in the Marshal Tito barracks in Sarajevo are incorrect.

The general staff has described the claims, reported by some sections of the media yesterday and today, as "tendentious."

"For some time now the Yugoslav Army General Staff has been investing maximum efforts to ensure that the evacuation of the cadets and officers, who are citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, is carried out peacefully and safely. To this end, Colonel General Zivota Panic, chief of general staff of the Yugoslav Army, visited Sarajevo yesterday.

"Unfortunately, representatives of both the Government and the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina failed to turn up for negotiations which were to take place at the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] headquarters, nor did they give guarantees that the cadets would be given safe passage.

"The Yugoslav Army General Staff is currently taking urgent measures to evacuate the cadets from Sarajevo safely and as soon as possible," the Yugoslav Army General Staff information office said in conclusion.

Foreign Motorists To Use Coupons for Fuel, Tolls

LD0206203492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1812 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 2 (TANJUG)—All foreign motorists will from Tuesday be able to purchase fuel in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia only for coupons.

Foreigners will also pay road tolls with coupons issued by the Yugoslav Motorists' Federation, the government's information secretariat has said.

The price of petrol has been set at 1.60 D-marks [German marks] and that of diesel fuel at 1.25 D-marks.

The Yugoslav Government has also decided that Yugoslavs will in future be allowed to take with them on tourist trips a maximum of 500 D-marks or their equivalent in other currencies, and for official journeys funds to cover expenses for a maximum of ten days.

Banks authorized for foreign transactions will be able to take out foreign currency only with the permission of the National Bank of Yugoslavia (NBJ).

The NBJ's consent is also required for foreign payments from accounts with foreign banks. Claims from dinar and foreign currency accounts of foreigners in Yugoslav banks can from now be used for paying for commodities and services in Yugoslavia, various expenses of foreigners in Yugoslavia, and can also be transferred to accounts held by other foreigners in Yugoslavia.

Claims from these accounts cannot be transferred out of the country, except in special cases and with the permission of the NBJ, the government said.

Banks authorized for foreign financial and credit transactions will be able to conclude arrangements with financial institutions in other countries for payments through special accounts, but even in this case claims cannot be transferred outside the country, the government said.

Official Says Sanctions To Affect Meat Exports

LD0106225492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1519 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 1 (TANJUG)—The spring sowing in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been completed on 2.5 million hectares, or 97 per cent of the area planned, the Yugoslav Government's information secretariat said on Monday.

Maize tops the list with 1,426,000 hectares, some 99 per cent of the plan. Sunflower seeds were sown on 180,000 hectares, or 99 per cent of the plan, soya on 96 per cent of the area planned and sugar beets on 80 per cent of the planned area. Potatoes were planted on about 98,000 hectares, or 1.4 per cent more than planned, and the plan for grain was also surpassed by 3.4 per cent. Vegetables were planted on 200,000 hectares, or 96 per cent of the area planned. Only the planting of tobacco has not yet been completed. Some 661,000 hectares of wheat sown in the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro last autumn yielded about three million tonnes of crop, more than sufficient to cover the needs of the 10.5 people living in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The National Bank of Yugoslavia has set aside some 92.8 billion dinars (about 464 million D-marks) of money issue funds to finance the spring sowing, livestock production and stocks. Secretary of the association of the agriculture and food industry of Yugoslavia Milutin Nikic said on Monday that Yugoslavia's agricultural sector had secured all fuel and other materials needed for this year's production before the United Nations imposed its sanctions against Yugoslavia.

The U.N. Security Council on Saturday voted to impose tough economic and political sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Nikic said the U.N.'s punitive measures would primarily affect the exports of meat and the production of food which depends on imported components.

UN Sanctions 'Might' Block Debt Servicing

LD0206121592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1129 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 2 (TANJUG)—The international sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) might block the servicing of its foreign debt, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA said on Friday.

The United Nations Security Council on Saturday adopted comprehensive economic and political sanctions against FRY.

If the United States strictly complies with the freezing of Yugoslavia's assets, including its foreign reserves totalling 214 million dollars, payments to foreign creditors from Yugoslav funds will cease, POLITIKA unofficially learned from the monetary authorities in Belgrade.

Yugoslavia's creditors are international financial organizations and around 200 foreign merchant banks.

FRY will continue to send payment orders to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. It is to pay around 531 million dollars by the end of the year.

The National Bank of Yugoslavia last week paid interest rates to merchant banks for the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro which fell due. If the sanctions continue, the repayment of interest rates will become a problem.

According to unofficial reports from international banking circles, the breakaway Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia and Croatia are irregularly servicing their debts.

Macedonian Government officials said this former Yugoslav republic did not have any foreign currency at the moment to repay its foreign debt.

Macedonia has not yet been recognized by the European Community.

The overall foreign debt of former Yugoslavia stands at around 15 billion dollars, and some 4.5 billion dollars of it is to merchant banks.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, formed by the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro on April 27, has inherited a foreign debt of 8.2 billion dollars.

According to figures dating from late March, Serbia's debt is 4.5 billion dollars, Montenegro 500 million dollars and the National Bank of Yugoslavia 3.2 billion dollars.

Payment of Foreign Debts Seen as Problematic

AU0106102492 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 92 p 12

[Bojana Jager commentary: "In Foreign Creditors' Hands"]

[Text] At the end of May, the total foreign convertible debt of Serbia, Montenegro, and the National Bank of Yugoslavia amounted to $8.2 billion, which is doubtless a heavy burden for the new country. How painful the possible tightening of the debt noose will be depends on the future status of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the decisions that the foreign creditors might make within the announced economic sanctions.

Out of the total foreign debt, Serbia owes $4.5 billion, Montenegro just under $500 million, and the National Bank $3.2 billion. The central bank's debts present a case for itself, since there are grounds for some kind of division, considering the fact that credits were taken for the solvency of either the former federation as a whole, or for some of its subjects. However, experts in this field believe that Croatia and Slovenia, and possibly some other former republics, would reject this division. The first two would reject it on the grounds that they had earlier agreed to pay back independently their own convertible foreign debts, and the other republics would reject it because they will probably not participate in the distribution of the foreign currency reserves held by the central bank. This is so because, on the one hand, most of these reserves have been eroded, and, on the other, because the rest of them are treated, domestically at least, as the inheritance of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Out of the mentioned $3.2 billion in foreign debt owed by the National Bank of Yugoslavia, almost half will go to obligations towards international financial organizations, while $1.6 billion are credits given by foreign commercial banks. That part of the debt was scheduled (by the well-known program from 1988), and this arrangement could hypothetically continue, provided the creditor banks were willin. Unfortunately, that willingness is now in question. On the other hand, that part of the debt could be bought up on the secondary capital market, if, that is, the state had free foreign money, which is obviously not the case here.

The same situation goes for the $1 billion in Serbian debt to foreign commercial banks, while the rest of the total $4.5 billion (bar a small part in short-term credits) is owed to international financial institutions. These debts were not included in the scheduling of 1988, and they cannot be sold on the secondary capital market. In other words, they are fixed liabilities and were paid regularly until the end of March.

What could be done about debts to international financial institutions and countries, is to make an arrangement on temporary postponement of them, if, of course, there is readiness on the part of the creditors. As far as we know, such an initiative has not yet been officially started.

According to Radovan Kovacevic from the Institute for Foreign Trade, everything depends on the result of the process surrounding the status of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the International Monetary Fund. If the result is negative, then the commercial banks would receive a signal to claim payment of debts. This, unfortunately, could happen even earlier, if the Western world decides to surprise us with a decision on freezing federal assets abroad. If that happened, then, regardless of the aforementioned scheduling, some 200 commercial banks, which, of course had commercial reasons for giving the credits in the first place, could recover their claims from the Yugoslavian assets, in proportion to their participation in the credits. In that case, not only would the so-called federal assets and foreign currency reserves of the central bank be endangered, but also the assets held in these foreign bank accounts by our business banks and industry. If such a decision conformed with the overall Western pressure on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, then there would probably be no selectiveness regarding the foreign commercial banks, and the part of the debt that was earlier reprogrammed and is quoted on the international secondary capital market. It is to be expected that the international financial institutions (the IMF, and the World Bank) would probably be the last to join a possible premature collection of the new country's debts. All this remains to be seen. It is impossible to predict any kind of a scenario, since, as Kovacevic says, it is all out of the hands of the economic and financial world.

Border Crossing With Hungary Under Blockade

LD0206163292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1156 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Subotica, 2 Jun (TANJUG)—Since 1100 today all freight traffic in both directions has been blocked at the Horgos border crossing (with Hungary).

Trucks were stopped due to a blockade by Yugoslav drivers who are dissatisfied because Hungarian customs organs have been sending them back, or in other words, are not allowing them to pass through Hungary.

After a two-hour standstill, the Hungarian customs organs offered a transit permit to our drivers but the Yugoslavs refused it since they do not know what to expect at border crossings with Austria, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

Passenger vehicles are allowed to cross and negotiations are under way on future traffic along the E-75 highway.

All UN Forces Will Be Deployed by 7 Jun

LD0206131392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1207 GMT 2 Jun 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 2 (TANJUG)—All 14,500 members of the U.N. Protection Force in Yugoslavia

(UNPROFOR) are to be deployed by June 7, as TANJUG learned on Tuesday at the operational headquarters of the Yugoslav State Committee for Cooperation with U.N. Representatives.

12,151 UNPROFOR members (military, police and civilian personnel) and 2,716 vehicles arrived in Yugoslavia by May 28.

The UNPROFOR deployment will be completed with the arrival of a Nigerian battalion, a sanitation unit from Great Britain, and a number of vehicles from individual European countries.

The U.N. peace-keeping forces which have arrived in Yugoslavia have been deployed in four sectors which cover areas inside the former administrative borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia which are predominantly populated by Serbs.

The respective areas, which have been placed under U.N. protection, comprise the Republic of Serbian Krajina, proclaimed by the Serbian population in response to Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia.

Initially, UNPROFOR's chief rear-area base was to be in Banja Luka, a town in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina which became a stage of fierce inter-ethnic fighting seven weeks ago. The decision was subsequently changed and the base was split up into two, with one half taking up headquarters in Croatia's capital of Zagreb and the other in Pancevo, a Belgrade suburb.

The UNPROFOR headquarters was moved out of Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in the second half of May due to a renewed escalation of fighting. Most of the headquarters personnel are now in Belgrade.

The UNPROFOR Commander, Lt-Gen. Satish Nambiar, has not ruled out the possibility of the UNPROFOR command's return to Sarajevo on condition of a total ceasefire.

In the UNPROFOR east sector, which covers Slavonia, an area bordering with Serbia, the first phase is being carried out of the blue helmets taking over control. The sector command and representatives of the local authorities have agreed together to monitor the ceasefire and, in case it is violated, to announced by whom.

Talks are under way on the assuming of control by the U.N. peace-keeping forces in the three other sectors—north, west and south.

UNPROFOR Operation Seen as Nearing Collapse

92BA0949B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23-24 May 92 p 2

[Article by Ivan Torov: "Black on Blue"]

[Text] If we are to judge by the increasingly frequent aggravating circumstances, the peacekeeping operation of the United Nations in Croatia is assuming ever greater prospects of failure. Although official reports are not arriving from New York, it is clear that postponement of final assumption of control and responsibility for another month (from 15 May to 15 June) is an expression of the insistence of Butrus Ghali that he be offered a brief respite, that is, that he await a possible outcome of the tragedy of war in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H]. That explains the halting of the three remaining battalions of "blue helmets" and withdrawal of Nambijar's staff headquarters from Sarajevo under dramatic circumstances. The UN secretary general even announced in mid-May that the possibility had been raised of withdrawing the peacekeeping forces, but whether that will happen will depend primarily on whether the war stops in B-H.

The fear most present in New York is the possibility that the war in B-H could recoil and renew the armed conflict on a broad scale in Croatia. The peace that the mediating mission of Cyrus Vance achieved, according to present interpretations, is anything but a real termination of the war, by the very fact that almost all sides are violating the truce agreement.

The greatest fear, nevertheless, is of the danger that Croatia, out of a desire to take advantage of the present confusion in these parts, and indeed in the world, now that war has begun in neighboring Bosnia, will initiate an offensive to get back "occupied territory," but also that what until yesterday was the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] will refuse to withdraw all of its weapons on the grounds, it is said in the top military leadership, that Croatian troops have massed on the border with the territories controlled by the Serbs. One would say that they are taunting and testing one another; the Serbs expect a Croatian offensive, the Croats are convinced that the Serbs will not give up their weapons, but will use some trick for the umpteenth time, and in the final analysis this means relativizing and threatening the peacekeeping operation even before it has properly begun.

Although a few days ago, after the withdrawal from Sarajevo, General Nambijar assured the public that even under the present circumstances he remained an optimist, that is, that nothing essential is changing, it is obvious even to laymen that some things have changed. In Croatia, they do not conceal their dissatisfaction that in the Krajina, under protection of UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force], the laws of (the former) Yugoslavia are still in effect and that power is exclusively in Serbian hands. Drazen Budisa has thus warned over the youth TV channel that the agreed participation of Croatian police in the local administration of Krajina is fragile, and we should add to this the accusations coming from Zagreb that the Serbian government is rapidly conducting an ethnic purge of the area under its control and preventing refugees from returning.

Goran Hadzic, however, for the third time in a short while, has sent a letter to Butrus Ghali in which he warns him that the deployment of peacekeeping forces within

the Krajina, and not on the line of demarcation, signifies a violation of Vance's plan, because that would mean that "55,000 Serbs would be left at the mercy of Croatian armed formations," which especially arises as a serious problem in Kninska Krajina, Kordun, and Banija. Unless this is prevented, he says, nothing will be left for the Serbian Republic of Krajina but to halt the demilitarization of this zone and the withdrawal of forces of the JNA. At the same time, the command of the 1st Military District has already announced that the forces of the Yugoslav Army are withdrawing under the agreement from eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem, and Gen. Nambijar announces that UNPROFOR forces took over complete responsibility in that sector back on 15 May.

There is an abundance of problems. In New York, they warn that the new Yugoslavia "is refusing to respect the obligation to withdraw ALL units and personnel of the Yugoslav Army. Belgrade is now saying that the Serbs born in Croatia can remain in that republic with their own weapons." That move is interpreted in the world organization as so-called apparent withdrawal, just as was done in Bosnia-Hercegovina, because only citizens of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] (a small minority) are withdrawing, while the main body of the armor and armament remain in the hands of local Serbian authorities. That suspicion is intensified by the recent decision of the Krajina government, following the decision of the SFRY Presidency on withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army on the territory of the FRY, to form a Serbian army of the Serbian Republic of Krajina, which jeopardizes the key position in Vance's peace plan concerning the complete demilitarization of the protected zone.

The situation is greatly complicated by the refusal of the Croatian authorities to consent to expansion of the pullback zone (which the Serbs emphasize among their subsequent demands), by the continuation of the enforcement of federal statutes in the Serbian Republic of Krajina, by constant statements from Zagreb that it will "recover the captured territory" by hook or by crook, and the daily responses of Hadzic, Babic, Martic, and Raskovic that "Krajina will never be part of Croatia," nor will it consent to "special status in Lord Carrington's formula." To be sure, no side is openly rejecting negotiations concerning the future political status of the disputed territories after assumption of responsibility by UNPROFOR forces, but the stubborn insistence of the one on "Croatian historical right" and of the others on "Krajina exclusively in Yugoslavia" simply blocks not only commencement of a future dialogue, but even the final deployment of the peacekeeping forces.

Potentially, however, the greatest danger to the fate of the peacekeeping operation could come after announcement of a possible confederation between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Although few believe at this moment in the feasibility of this alleged agreement between the SDA [Democratic Action Party] and the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], and there are even interpretations that it is a direct consequence of an earlier agreement between Serbia and Croatia concerning division of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the international public is reacting very unfavorably to that announcement.

In recent days, peacekeeping forces from all over the world have been the target of harsh propaganda from both sides. Both are attempting to compromise them. Butrus Ghali's last report was the best demonstration of what the peacekeepers are encountering in the attempt to reestablish peace, especially concerning their efforts to prevent an ethnic purge of the area by force. Although both sides accepted that clause in Vance's plan, it is obvious that it does not suit them, and before the final deployment of the peacekeeping forces, they are trying to establish the most favorable ethnic composition for themselves. That is why one reads reports every day about Serbs being driven out of areas under Croatian authority and Croats, Ruthenians, and Ukrainians being driven out of territory under control of the Serbs.

Determination of New Borders of FRY Viewed

92BA0955A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 May 92 p 10

[Article by Radovan Pavlovic: "Where To Set the Border Stone"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] New borders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]; the process of determining state borders is usually a difficult and long one; what the biggest disputes could be about; can historic injustices be corrected?

Although the new Yugoslavia's state borders have not yet been established, experts have calculated that the FRY covers an area of 102,173 square kilometers, and the length of its border is 2,617 kilometers.

Thus, with 10.5 million inhabitants, the young state is larger than Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania, the Scandinavian states, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium, and, naturally, the ministates born under the coattails of the former Yugoslavia.

In order to protect its integrity and economy, the new state has already established about 30 border crossings, the militia and customs officers are already doing their jobs at the borders, and border military units are expected to take over the security and control of the state borders soon.

The Key Is International Recognition

Will border stones therefore start to be set up on the state borders, and how will Yugoslavia's borders be determined, since administrative borders on which no records or documents exist are in effect with respect to the new neighbors?

According to our interlocutor, Lieutenant Colonel Tihomir Stojanovic of the Administration for Border

Units of the Armed Forces General Staff, it is a general rule that no state can establish its borders unilaterally and on its own. In order for a border to be legally valid, it has to be internationally recognized. The demarcation of neighbors occurs in several ways: through the conclusion of an agreement, usually after a war; through collective recognition at the time of the creation of a new state; through a declaration by several states on the borders of new countries; and, finally, which is the most frequent case, the International Court of Justice or a specially selected arbitrator establishes the borders between the states, Lieutenant Colonel Stojanovic explained.

The process of determining the state border, drawing it, and marking it is usually a difficult and long one (some people say that sometimes it is easier to conquer part of the territory than to hold onto it).

Lieutenant Colonel Stojanovic says that the old Yugoslavia had a great deal of trouble in demarcating the borders with its neighbors. Thus, the border with Albania was drawn on the basis of the London Treaty of 1912, but the final demarcation was only done 13 years later.

The border between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia was established by the peace treaty concluded in 1919 in Neuilly (France). A special team of experts from an international commission went out to the field a year later and worked for two years on marking the borders and drawing maps. There were also complications with the Greeks, Hungarians, Austrians, and Romanians, where members of an international commission also spent several years in each case altering the borders.

The dispute with the Italians is interesting. That part of the border was defined by the peace treaty with Italy in 1945, and the memorandum of agreement on resolving the Trieste question in 1954. The border with Italy was not fully drawn by these documents, however. A disagreement arose over the demarcation in Kolovrat and Sabotin, as well as the demarcation of territorial waters in the Gulf of Trieste. The final demarcation between Italy and Yugoslavia was done on the basis of the 1975 Osimo accords.

Calming "Neighbors' Passions"

Before border stones, posts, or other border markers appear on Yugoslavia's borders with Macedonia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina, however, international commissions will certainly have their hands full of work in calming "neighbors' passions." There are age-old dreams here, aspirations for certain territories, and a real opportunity to correct certain historical injustices.

Our interlocutor recalled that as early as two years ago, the Macedonian Assembly dealt with the borders by adopting a document entitled "Certain Aspects of the Territorial Demarcation Between the Macedonian SR [Socialist Republic] and the Serbian SR." In those papers, Macedonia demands from Serbia the territory on which the St. Prohor Pcinjski monastery is located and 13 villages around the monastery, the Dzeneral Jankovic settlement with the neighboring villages, and the northern slopes of Sar Mountain.

If Serbia or Yugoslavia listened to the Macedonian demands, almost the entire border with our southern neighbor would be shifted deep into Serbian territory, by more than 30 kilometers in some places.

Prevlaka represents the biggest "bone in the throat." The Montenegrins do not want to hear that it belongs to Croatia again, but once again Croatia is a recognized state and is counting on the "objectivity" of international arbiters of justice. Finally, on the still valid maps of the former SFRY, the administrative border between Macedonia and Serbia in the area of the western slopes of Sar Mountain has been drawn about 20 kilometers into Serbia's territory.

General Discusses Issue of Prevlaka Border

92BA0949D Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 20 May 92 p 4

[Article by G. Knezevic: "The Border Is Far From Prevlaka"]

[Text] Trebinje, 19 May—Today, according to a decision of the Presidency of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], the last unit of the Podgorica Corps will leave Hercegovina. In a short statement for POBJEDA, this was in fact confirmed by Colonel General Pavle Strugar, commander of the 2d Operational Group of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] for Hercegovina. We have respected, Strugar said, the deadline of the FRY Presidency and concluded the removal from B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] of members of the former JNA, now the army of the FRY. We have fully performed our combat tasks. At the last moment, we went to the ethnic borders between the Serbian and Croatian people, above Popovo Polje and on the Neretva, and thus prevented disastrous conflicts. To be more precise, we pushed the Croatian Army and other paramilitary formations further back from the ethnic borders and thereby frustrated their greedy intentions. We did not do this to conquer anyone's territory, but to separate these people that are at odds and to protect the Serbian population from the genocide which the Ustasha forces intend for them once again. After we accomplished that, we withdrew to the ethnic borders between the opstinas of Trebinje and Ljubinje on one side and the Neum and Dubrovnik regions on the other. Now those borders have been taken up by the forces of the Serbian Republic of B-H. I think it is realistic for the Croatian and Serbian sides to negotiate on that line and to conclude a peace on it, Strugar said, and emphasized that all members of the Podgorica Corps, citizens of the FRY who had consented, had been brought back from the front. It is true that a number of volunteers remains there who had ties

of kinship with the Hercegovinians and did not want to leave them at a moment of intensified actions by the Croatian formations.

In response to the remark that the problem of Prevlaka should also be resolved by the authorities of Montenegro, that is, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and Croatia, Col. Gen. Pavle Strugar said: "Prevlaka should be viewed from the hydrographic, geographic, economic, and other aspects of international law and the established criteria. It is well-known, for instance, that land borders at sea 'run' at a right angle, so that a straight line from Prevlaka 'runs' to Mamula. This means that the incorrectly drawn border on Prevlaka is closing the mouth of Boka Kotorska."

What is more, by military logic Prevlaka is not just that little peninsula, but a broader area. So the existing administrative border is not a natural one. To arrive at a permanent solution of international relations in that area, an objective examination must be made of all the aspects of this problem and the border must be drawn, I am profoundly convinced, along the eastern edge of Konovalo, to "intersect" the natural route which "takes" Hercegovinians over Grab and Javor to Herceg-Novi. This is the real border between Montenegro and Croatia. There was a border at Grab, Strugar recalls, in the time of Napoleon and Austro-Hungary.... But, he says, let the politicians decide about that, and the army of the FRY will perform all its tasks in that domain.

Federal

Electoral Commissions Release Election Results

LD0206205392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1902 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Pristina, June 2 (TANJUG)—In communes in the Serbian province of Kosovo-Metohija, candidates of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) won the majority of seats in elections for the Chamber of Citizens in the Assembly of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and for local deputies.

Data released by the communal election commissions indicate that the second biggest vote-getter was the Serbian Radical Party, followed by candidates nominated by groups of citizens.

Over 60 per cent of Serbia's electorate cast their ballots in the first multi-party elections for the parliament of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, held over the past weekend, while the figure for Montenegro was 56.74 per cent, and the elections are being assessed as successful.

Electoral commissions in the two republics said the voter turnout was good in areas with majority Serb and Montenegrin populations—in Serbia it was between 60 and 85 per cent, and in Montenegro between 50 and 80 per cent.

However, in communes in the republic with majority ethnic Albanian populations, only one-fifth of all voters turned up.

In very few communes in Kosovo-Metohija was the required number of local deputies elected—the vote was boycotted by the ethnic Albanians, whose political leaders are pushing for the province's transformation into a republic [word indistinct] secession from Yugoslavia and merger with neighbouring Albania.

Most communal assemblies in Kosovo-Metohija will thus be completed after the elections' second round in two weeks' time.

'Official' Results in Kosovo

AU0206151892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Pristina]

[Excerpts] The first official results on the elections were presented in Kosovo-Metohija today. The turnout in the commune of Pristina was 24 percent, that is to say, over 80 percent of Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, and Romanies who were on the electoral rolls. There is a similar situation in other communes in Kosovo. The deputy to the federal assembly from Gnjilane is Branimir Filic; from Prizren, Mihajlo Zivgarevic; from Djakovica, Dragomir Pavlovic, from Pec, Miodrag Vukotic; and from Kosovska Mitrovica, Milomir Akcentijevic. All of them are members of the Socialist Party of Serbia. Two independent candidates also won a seat in the federal parliament. [passage omitted]

Regarding the parties that run in the elections, the Socialist Party of Serbia won more votes than any other party. The Serbian Radical Party was the second.

Kosovo Deputies Named

LD0206141092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0837 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Pristina, 2 Jun (TANJUG)—TANJUG's correspondent has learned that of the seven deputies elected to the FRY Chamber of Citizens from Kosovo and Metohija, five are members of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], while two candidates were put forward by a citizens' group.

In the Pristina electoral district, which comprises Kosovo, Polje, and Obilic Tomislav Sekulic, who was proposed by a group of citizens, won the majority of votes. A candidate of the same name and surname has been elected federal deputy from the electoral unit of Urosevac, which comprises the municipalities of Lipljan and Kacanik.

Dr. Miodrag Vukotic from Pec, Mihailo Zivgarevic from Prizren, Dragomir Pavlovic from Klina, Milomir Aksentijevic from Kosovska Mitrovica, and Branimir Filic from Gnjilane are the new federal deputies from the ranks of the SPS.

The final results of the elections for delegates to municipal assemblies are still not known.

Socialist Party Leads in Vojvodina

LD0206145192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1023 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Tex] Novi Sad, 2 May (TANJUG)—By 1000 this morning the provincial electoral commission received reports from 57 out of 120 electoral units for deputies to the Vojvodina Assembly.

The turnout was 66 percent with 515,498 people casting their vote out of a total number of eligible voters of 775,451 in these electoral units.

Twenty-one candidates from these electoral units won parliamentary seats in the first round of the elections, while two candidates from each of the remaining electoral units who won the highest number of votes will compete in the second round of the elections on 14 June.

Representatives of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] won the largest number of seats—16, the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians won 2 seats, and 3 seats were won by candidates proposed by citizens groups.

The new deputies to the future multiparty Assembly of Vojvodina are: Cvijo Saric (electoral unit—Zrenjanin 1), Svetislav Krstic (Zrenjanin 5), Radomir Bozic (Zrenjanin 6), Bogdan Bodrazic (Kikinda 3), Dragi Markovic (Titel), Damnjan Radenkovic (Ruma 3), Petar Tomic (Odzaci 1), Drago Ivanic (Odzaci 2), Milan Radosavac (Sid 1), Veljko Dabic (Zitiste), Milisav Gagovic (Vrbas 1), Milan Govedarica (Vrbas 2), Risto Komnenovic (Nova Crnja), Milan Basara (Plandiste), Nikola Gagovic (Kula 1), and Dusan Jagodic (Kovin 2)—all members of the SPS.

Krstic, Bodrazic, Tomic, Dabic, and Gagovic were the only candidates on the lists in their electoral units.

Janos Bozsoki (Ada) and Janos Urban (Ada-Senta) are the members of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians who won seats in the Vojvodina Parliament. Sandor Egeresi (Backa Topola), Vladimir Dakic (Backa Palanka-Vrbas), and Samuel Vrbovski (Backi Petrovac) are the candidates proposed by groups of citizens who won seats in the provincial assembly.

The Provincial Electoral Commission hopes to receive reports from the remaining 63 electoral units for the Vojvodina Assembly in the course of today.

Statistics Bureau on Monthly Inflation Rate

LD2905210392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1449 GMT 29 May 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, May 29 (TANJUG)—The monthly inflation rate for May stood at 80.8 percent in Yugoslavia, as representatives of the Federal Statistics Bureau told a news conference in Belgrade on Friday. The retail prices daily rose on the average 1.9 cent in May, as compared with April.

The increase in retail prices for the first five months of the year stood at 786.5 percent.

The figures for May do not include the last ten days of the month, but cover the April 20-May 20 period.

The Federal Statistics Bureau representatives specified that the retail prices went up 80.5 percent in the Republic of Serbia in May, and 80.9 percent in the Republic of Montenegro.

Serbia and Montenegro make up the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Cosic Allegedly Offered Post of FRY President

92BA0940A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 15 May 92 p 18

[Article by Slobodan Reljic: "The New President—A Writer?"]

[Text] Will Dobrica Cosic be the president of the new state? Last week, a well-known writer, a member of the academy, one of Dobric's close friends, shrugged his shoulders in answer to the direct question: "I do not know. I also heard that they had offered it to him. I have not seen him. I will ask him."

And then last Sunday (10 May 1992) there appeared in POLITIKA a "statement about the elections." This message, a bit strange (and mysterious) by our standards—is really trying (and that was also the intention of the idea of the National Council) to patch up the cracks around the most important points of discord in these parts. It observes that "even external circumstances are compelling us to a policy of forced moves with the clock running out." It warns that "we citizens who do not belong to a party expect of the party leaders that in these fateful hours for the Serbian people they will not forget that all their parties, with their members and adherents, represent a small minority of the electorate...a small segment of the people of Serbia and Montenegro." Many people found this sentence to be the most important in that piece: "It is truly, truly the last hour in this country to abandon the incumbent party's policy of dictate and fait accompli and obstruction of the opposition as a method of fighting to take power." It is probably because of the first part of that sentence that the TV news passed coolly over the entire "announcement." As though it did

not even exist. What is more, Dobrica Cosic says "that we have not had the time, and neither the need I think," to conduct a referendum in Serbia on unification, "but we should have had the time and responsibility for more competent people to take part in writing the new Constitution." The main thrust of the announcement nevertheless, it seems, is that "we are vitally compelled to reunify Serbia and Montenegro into a joint state with the greatest urgency."

A day later, NIN heard once again from "people close to Dobrica," unofficially, of course, that the post of president of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] is being "offered" to Cosic, the writer and member of the academy. After the announcement was published, Cosic traveled to France, to Bordeaux, and when he returned after some 10 days he would be able to "sum up" the reaction of the public to his "epistle."

The Response of the Opposition

In the meantime, Vuk Draskovic "welcomed Dobrica Cosic's idea," but he reproached him for "not having seen earlier that Slobodan Milosevic and his party make use of dictate." And the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] "judges that Dobrica Cosic should have reacted that way back in 1990." Zoran Djindjic thinks that it is "not so important why the appeal was not uttered one or five years ago," but "no agreement at this point could have the result that the DS [Democratic Party] would take part in elections on 31 May." Vesna Pesic, president of the Reform Party, declared that "Dobrica Cosic offers his advice to the nation only when it is a question of a referendum and elections whose purpose is to ensure the continuity and legitimacy of the incumbent party." Nikola Milosevic, president of the Serbian Liberal Party [SLS], has spoken about Cosic as a "middleman," who nevertheless "obviously leans toward the incumbent party in a thankless task which he took upon himself." Only Zoran Lilic, who heads the deputy caucus of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], declared: "I highly value and welcome Dobrica Cosic's statement concerning the upcoming elections."

In any case, it is being said that as far as the post of the president is concerned, thought had also been given to Matija Beckovic. It is said that "after consultations" it was realized that Dobrica Cosic was "a better choice at this moment." Following that same shrewd logic, the post of federal prime minister (because of the clear wording of Article 97, Paragraph 2, of the Constitution, that "the president of the republic and the federal prime minister may not as a rule come from the same member republic") "is being offered" to Momir Bulatovic. He is said to be "thinking it over." After all, although the federal prime minister is a post with much more power than that of the president, it is still hard to imagine that there will be more "real power" in the bodies of the FRY than in the member republic, which is defined as a "state...sovereign in matters which have not been established by this Constitution as the jurisdiction of the FRY."

News about the "wave of new ambassadors" came from a similar source. Because of their contributions to creating the new state, it is being announced that Brana Crncevic, "a writer who is already sufficiently experienced in politics, is envisaged for the future ambassador in Moscow," "Dr. Rados Smiljkovic, professor and active party official, is supposed to go to the embassy in Sofia, and Danilo Z. Markovic, who is now minister of education, would go to Bucharest." And then there is also the "old news" about ambassadors: Professor Budimir Kosutic in Israel and Dr. Aleksandar Prlja in the Vatican.

Reliance on the People

But representatives abroad are nevertheless not so important at this moment. So, what role does the Constitution give to the new president of the republic? It is believed that this is to be "more a figure for protocol and public relations than politics." Article 96 of the Constitution enumerates in 10 subparagraphs that he represents the state, proclaims federal laws, nominates to the Assembly—after obtaining the opinion of representatives of deputy caucuses—a candidate for prime minister, calls elections to the Federal Assembly, appoints and recalls ambassadors, awards decorations, grants pardons, and "performs other functions as defined by this Constitution." He is elected to a four-year term and "the same person may not be elected...twice."

It seems to many people that this kind of role in the new state is suitable to a person of Cosic's rank and reputation. He has traveled the road traveled by many others in these parts. As can be seen from his fiction, he has traveled the road from a young Communist and internationalist, on to an inquiry into the "roots" and "divisions" of his own people, in the late sixties he faced the "real (im)possibility" of saying freely what he saw with his own eyes; as a dissident he wrote about the Serbian "times of death"—and in four volumes he did the most to remind Serbs that their history is not just a matter of waging Partizan warfare and postwar construction—and then, feeling that "the old is being torn down," he described the communist "believers," "sinners," and "apostates."

Following the thick books and exile from the public, Dobrica Cosic, in the estimates of many people, became one of the people influencing political developments in Serbia. It was said that when important decisions were being made, he could have an essential influence even on President Milosevic himself. Academician Raskovic, for example, has said that Dobrica Cosic, the "father of the nation...given his internal makeup cannot be a follower-...but he is loyal to Milosevic." And he went on: "I have been witness to those imploring requests that he become Milosevic's chief rival (this had to do with the elections for the president of Serbia in December 1990).... Had Dobrica Cosic been on the list of candidates, I do not know how either Milosevic or his party would have fared."

The statement by Dobrica Cosic in POLITIKA is now also being interpreted as an attempt at this difficult moment to ignite a guiding light for disunited Serbs, but, say some, because this is "groping in advance of the election," what will the people say? The leaders of the opposition parties, this has been confirmed, are not predisposed toward Mr. Cosic, it is felt that he does not suit a major portion of the Serbian emigre community either, but in the statement, if we are to follow that line of analysis, he "is not even counting" on them. Dobrica Cosic is appealing above all to "citizens without a party."

The days to come will show to what extent this really is a "nomination campaign." But in conclusion let us record two typical reactions to the words that "they have offered Dobrica the position of president." First: That means that we will have our own hovel. Second: What does Dobrica need with this kind of state—under unprecedented international pressure, with the economy on glass legs, and politically unstable? Perhaps that is precisely why! After all, "in my opinion, we are vitally compelled to unify Serbia and Montenegro once again as a joint state with the greatest urgency" (Dobrica Cosic, 10 May 1992, POLITIKA).

Choice of New Army Generals Analyzed

92BA0940B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian
15 May 92 p 19

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic: "The New Collegium of Generals"]

[Text] In the shadow of the moral—fame is perhaps transient, but shame is eternal—the army is performing a complicated operation on itself. This undertaking, defined as "improvising stability," has turned the generals into the most threatened species of the flora and fauna of the new state. That is, they still have not altogether worked out the principles which were behind the "retirement" of 40 military leaders, and there is already talk about polishing a similar list which over the next 100 days would take away another company of military leaders wearing the oak leaf cluster. Malicious tongues might ask: "Did it take that many generals for their army to acquire the loser's complex?" But the far more essential thing is the debate about whether these changes of the top commanders are only a face lift which makes it possible to perpetuate the life of the "party army," the real beginning of a new army philosophy, or a mere bypass, an improvised stability which allows the civil authorities of the new state a peaceful birth or miscarriage (it depends on your party convictions)?

In the shadow of the wholesale whitewash (Branko Kostic is whitewashing the Presidency, because "the intelligence people did not do their job right"; Adzic is sitting in judgment on Trifunovic because of Varazdin, whitewashing himself and Kadijevic; "someone" is replacing Adzic because of Bosnia, putting on "clean underwear" with all the world watching), a new hierarchical scheme has nevertheless been established, indicating to analysts the depth of the army's operation on itself. The collegium of generals is now made up of Zivota Panic (59), the new chief of staff, then Bozidar Stevanovic, commander of the air force, Vuk Obradovic, who holds the position of "chief psychiatrist," otherwise known as the leader of the former Political Administration, and, as far as anyone knows, two "new recruits": Dr. Milorad Dragojevic, professor, probably entrusted with seeing to the supply of new weapons systems, and the rising star Major General Nedeljko Boskovic (promoted four days ago), chief of the Security Administration, or, for those who like the old titles, chief of Counterintelligence. According to available data and the not exactly lively tongues close to the army, these generals constitute the ideological core of the current changes.

Although foreign analysts are guessing that the youthful Obradovic (with a name that evokes all sorts of associations), and with a brother who is vice president of the Serbian Assembly (which also evokes associations), stands behind this purge of the generals, it is hard to put complete stock in that. That is, General Vuk has not in his career followed the line of troop command, but is an example of the type of personnel whom the soldiers still delight in referring to as "commissars." For that reason, in my judgment, Obradovic is running "only" for the post of ideologue, with the ambition of committing patricide and leading the new collegium of generals, himself personally, and the "new philosophy" of the army to an acknowledged state of innocence. At the same time, the experienced Panic has spent his entire life in field commands, those with whom he has worked emphasize how he differs from Adzic's style of "Where is your hat, you ox?", they esteem his cooperativeness, and, according to them, there is no need to be surprised if the post of chief of staff, in which the turnover of generals has been so high, should be occupied for the next two years.

Stevanovic, a man who is still flying—if the news is correct—MiG-29's and whose organization has been serving as "emergency aid" when his colleagues get in a mess, which they do, enjoys a similar status among pilots. Gen. Dragojevic is a scientist, a university professor, probably the best expert in the country on "armor," the creator of the most effective domestic export article, the M-84 tank, and designer of the Vihor, the next project on the same topic. This atypical general will have the simplest task: In the middle of an isolated country, to which, I assume, no one in the advanced world over the next decade will publicly and openly sell the license for up-to-date military technology, and in the middle of an economy with an average earnings of some 50 marks [DM], to see to the servicing and production of equipment which it unfortunately seems that we will probably need for a long time yet.

The new top army policeman, Nedeljko Boskovic, a former pilot, comes from the ranks of the "blues." In the

Zemun Air Force Command, when he was a colonel, he won the battle over exposing the "Opera" affair and undermined his predecessor Aleksandar Vasiljevic, who probably will not be bypassed by all the court trials to come in the future. Those who know him say that he possesses classic Montenegrin obstinacy, self-reliance, and energy, which in the complicated game of "either-or" decided in favor of the new collegium of generals. Something else, the new leader of Counterintelligence—there is no other explanation for his rise—is probably one of the essential people who argue that this list for euthanasia of the generals obtain clearance from Slobodan Milosevic as well, who, if this is true, for the first time became directly involved in matters which until recently he considered to be exclusively military. This is evident from the fact that not so long ago he accepted Negovanovic as Serbian minister of the army under direct pressure of the General Staff, although at that moment the current minister, Simovic, "better reflected" Serbia's needs. It is now clear even to the last general that he who pays the piper calls the tune. So, who knows, knows!

When we add to them generals working temporarily in Bosnia—Mladic and Perisic, we arrive at a fairly well-rounded list of the people who should be followed in analyzing the army. Those we have mentioned, this is almost certain, have also chosen their own candidate for minister of the army—the reference is to Dr. Branko Kostic, currently a part (it is not clear which) of the supreme collective commander. Kostic, who has already enjoyed the post of minister of the army of the new Yugoslavia, according to the opinions of some, suits the generals because he is easy to comprehend and to use and "good with Sloba." Professional soldiers emphasize "his popularity" in the garrisons and trenches, his "concern and understanding" of the complexity of this profession. In any case, republic ministers of the army lose their jobs or become ordinary civil servants while Kostic is becoming the new chief of the generals in spite of the lack of evidence that his military knowledge goes any further than the M-48 rifle, "domestic manufacture, best in the world."

The only thing that is completely transparent and undoubtedly important is the arrest of Alija Izetbegovic. That is, does that affair represent the last act of the old guard in the military or the first action of the new one? Or perhaps a conflict over the execution and conclusion of that case speeded up the demise of Adzic and Kukanjac? If that is the "handwriting" of the new leadership, then we should soon expect some other spectacular things: If it is Adzic's handwriting, he never knew how to write anyway!

Those are the coordinates in which the unraveling of the uniformed problem will develop; what I hope after everything else is clear is the bitter experience that there is no para-army (every army that functions is an army), but only paragenerals. There is no cure for the army's defects, then, inside the garrison, but only within the society and the system in which they live. Those who would cure the faults of society with a uniform are ready for anything, which is exactly why they are no good for anything!

Serbia

Premier Refuses Kosovars Right of Secession

LD0206141992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Jun (TANJUG)—"We are prepared to discuss with representatives of the Albanian national minority all issues concerning their rights. What we are not going to discuss is Kosovo and Metohija's secession from Serbia and Yugoslavia," said Radoman Bozovic, prime minister of the Serbian Government, at a press conference in Belgrade today.

Despite the two invitations to talks we issued over the last month, however, representatives of the political parties of the Kosmet [Kosovo-Metohija] Albanians have shown no readiness to talk. The only dialogue they want focuses on secession, Bozovic said.

Referring to the situation in Sandzak, the head of the Serbian Government stressed that Muslim extremists, with support from Bosnia-Hercegovina, attempted to incite unrest in this part of Serbia, but the population decided that coexistence and good-neighborly relations are our destiny.

Government To Draw Up Oil Austerity Program

LD0206174492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1307 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 2 (TANJUG)—The prices of petrol in Serbia doubled as of Tuesday, the information ministry of this Yugoslav Republic said.

Petrol 86 now sells at 666 dinars (two U.S. dollars at the official and 70 cents at the street rate of exchange). Petrol 98 costs 750 dinars (2.3 dollars, 80 cents, respectively).

The United Nations Security Council on Saturday imposed an economic and political blockade on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which comprises the republics of Serbia and Montenegro.

Prime Minister of Serbia Radoman Bozovic on Sunday announced a series of steps aimed at easing the effects of the blockade.

Raising the prices of petrol accounts for the first step of the Serbian Government to persuade the owners of passenger cars to change to city transport vehicles, says the Belgrade BORBA daily on Tuesday.

According to BORBA, the government will soon issue petrol ration coupons, also for privately-owned cars.

Serbian Minister for the Fuel and Power Industry Nikola Sainovic said on Monday that Serbia was drawing up an

oil derivatives austerity program. He said that despite the embargo, there would be enough fuel to meet the most urgent demand.

Jovanovic: Some Countries Want Coup in FRY

LD0206173492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Interview with Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Vilmos Kovacs; place and date not given; Jovanovic speaks in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Kovacs] Will Yugoslavia introduce retaliatory measures against the UN sanctions?

[Jovanovic] It is too early to talk about that. However, it depends on how the others will act against us and our interests. This confrontation was not forced by us. We very much regret that punitive sanctions have been taken against us, because this is a force against the economic, legal, and political system, which destroys the previous cooperation and communication on our continent. We also consider the measure unfortunate because, in our view, confrontation in the interest of settling the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina is unnecessary, because we do not at all oppose a peaceful settlement of the crisis with political means. We reckon that this false measure was forced upon us by countries which had some other political purpose as well, namely the overthrow of the Yugoslav leadership.

[Kovacs] Which countries are you referring to?

[Jovanovic] Unfortunately, there are several countries that keep mentioning more and more loudly that the legal Yugoslav leadership must be overthrown. This position is being increasingly voiced in German, U.S., and British press commentaries. I do not know about your press. However, I am certain that Austria, too, comes in this category.

[Kovacs] What do you think the purpose of these countries is?

[Jovanovic] They probably do not want Yugoslavia to be led by a government which is fighting for the independence of the country. These states would like a puppet government which accepts a dictate unfavorable for the Serbian people living in Yugoslavia, and want Serbia to replace the present leadership.

No Serbian Soldiers in Bosnia

LD0206210892 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] The Serbian foreign minister has stated that for the time being they are not considering any retaliatory steps against the international sanctions because they will wait and see how the various states are going to behave. Vilmos V. Kovacs interviewed Vladislav Jovanovic:

[Begin Jovanovic recording in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Hungarian translation] We have no territorial claims against Bosnia-Hercegovina, and we respect the republic's territorial unity. Control is perfect along the Drina River, which forms the border, and no armed men can cross the border from either direction. We have not a single soldier in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We have not carried out any aggression or invasion.

Croatia, on the other hand, did that three months ago, but there is no mention of that at all. Croatia occupied the whole of northern Hercegovina and most of northern Bosnia. Members of the Croatian Army as well as Croatian paramilitary units took part in it. There are at least 30,000 Croatian soldiers in the region with artillery weapons and Leopard tanks. Croatia implicitly annexed northern Hercegovina, where it introduced its own legislature, administration, and money.

As I said, Serbia has not a single soldier in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and it has not occupied any land at all from the republic's territory. [end recording]

Jovanovic Sends Message to Egypt on Bosnia

LD3105225192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1643 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Cairo, May 30 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Serbia has no territorial claims either towards Bosnia-Hercegovina or the other republics of the former Yugoslavia, as Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic has let know his Egyptian counterpart, 'Amr Musa.

In a message delivered to Minister Musa's office on Saturday by Charge d'Affairs of the Yugoslav Embassy in Cairo Danilo Vucetic, Minister Jovanovic presented Serbia's stands in connection with the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, a former Yugoslav Republic which has been the stage of fierce inter-ethnic armed clashes for nearly seven weeks.

Vucetic on Saturday delivered also a message from the Yugoslav Government for the prime ministers of the 46 member-countries of the organization of the Islamic Conference, which is preparing a special ministerial conference devoted to Bosnia-Hercegovina. Muslims constitute 44 percent of the population in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbs 31 percent, and Croats 17 percent. Vucetic delivered the message to the office of Egyptian Prime Minister Atif Sidqi.

The Yugoslav Government message said that members of all three nations were equally suffering in Bosnia-Hercegovina and that the blaming of just one side did not help the quest of a political solution to the crisis.

The message said that Yugoslavia was doing everything in its power for a political solution to be found.

The Muslim countries blame strictly Serbia for the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, neglecting, among others, the fact that several tens of thousands of troops

from neighbouring Croatia, also a former Yugoslav Republic, are in Bosnia-Hercegovina and that Muslim extremists are preventing the agreed evacuation of the few remaining Yugoslav Army members from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Demonstrators Protest Outside Russian Embassy

LD0206200692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1846 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 2 (TANJUG)—The Serbian-Russian Friendship Association on Tuesday staged the second rally in two days outside the Russian Embassy in Belgrade, to protest over the Russian government decision to approve the United Nations Security Council's sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Around (?100) demonstrators were told that "Russia has betrayed the Slav and Christian Orthodox interests, so that it would be granted membership by the International Monetary Fund."

Those who attended the rally were invited to gather at the same place [words indistinct] local time. Eleven members of the association said they would start a hunger strike to express support for the 11 million Serbs living in former Yugoslavia.

The Russian opposition Renewal Party on Tuesday staged a rally outside the Yugoslav Embassy in Moscow to express solidarity with Yugoslavia and protest over the U.N. sanctions against the country.

The party announced that it would ask the Russian Supreme Soviet to reject the sanctions and call an internal conference on Yugoslavia.

Opposition Warns of 'Possible Civil War'

LD0206131492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1059 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Jun (TANJUG)—The Democratic Movement of Serbia [Depos] today stated that the UN sanctions will inflict one of the most serious historical defeats on Serbia both politically and morally, thus confronting innocent citizens with an even greater evil, that is, a possible civil war among Serbs themselves.

"It is with profound concern, pain, and indignation that we await the difficult and humiliating position into which the Serb nation and the Serb state have been pushed by the irrational policy of the present authorities," Depos says in a statement.

Depos goes on to express full support for the memorandum of the Holy Bishops' Assembly of the Serbian Orthodox Church and appeals to all democratic forces to join this opposition forum to consolidate the democratic public's just aspiration for an honorable peace and a desire to see an end to brutalities, hatred, and wantonness especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The movement also appealed to the domestic and international public as well as to the diasporate Serbs to inform the world about Depos' aims.

Democratic Party Leader on Civil War

LD0206212992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1846 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 2 Jun (TANJUG)—Dragoljub Micunovic, the chairman of the Democratic Party [Demokratska stranka], assessed today that the prevention of a civil war in Serbia is the first and most important task that any sensible and responsible citizen must undertake. In a statement about the current political situation in Serbia, Micunovic noted "there is no political goal worth fighting for in a second civil war this century."

This is even more imperative because, Micunovic explained, "there was never so much hatred, passion and arms on the political scene, and because the voice of reason is drowned with battlecries, swearing, and the near-by thunder of cannons." Noting that "horrors of civil war have become a part of our everyday life and they are multiplying at a speed that does not leave us time to collect our thoughts," he concluded that the majority of citizens are asking themselves today "is there any hope that this horror will bypass us?"

"Anyone with any sense of responsibility and the minimum of sense knows that we are now on the brink of that hell and that everything should be done to stop us from falling into it," Micunovic said. He then recalled that it was difficult to find an example in recent history of a country being in such isolation and under such pressure as Serbia is today. "Not understanding us and not finding strength for a more just and rational solution, the world community has isolated us and imposed punitive measures with unforseeable consequences and from which even our descendants will suffer. Sanctions are hurting least of all the current government, and most of all the citizens of Serbia and Montenegro," Micunovic said.

Asking what should be done to get rid of the isolation, to prevent civil war, reduce social, political and interethnic tensions characteristic of our political scene and how to find a democratic way out of this catastrophic situation, Micunovic offers as solutions:

"First of all, the ending of the bloodshed in Bosnia-Hercegovina and reaching a political settlement which all three constitutive nations there would accept."

He also stresses that "it is then necessary to reach a historical and democratic compromise between all political factors in Serbia."

According to him, "this will be difficult to achieve, if the republican president continues to divide citizens of Serbia into patriots and traitors. We do not expect the head of the state to find solutions to the crisis by disenfranchising a large number of people."

"Legality and regularity of the last elections was rightly denied, and a hint of a new election for all bodies of power would greatly reduce political tensions and eliminate divisions leading to a civil war," Micunovic stressed.

"All political factors in our country will soon be divided into two groups: those marching toward a civil war not taking into account consequences and sufferings which we have already suffered. In the other group will be those seeking a sensible way out of the catastrophe. Everything should be done so that the majority is in the second group," Micunovic maintains. [passage omitted]

Serbian Socialist Party Platform Outlined

AU0206142592 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 May 92 p 8

[S.K. report: "Election Program in 21 Points"]

[Text] The election program of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], adopted at the session of the SPS main committee on 11 May, has been delivered to the media.

The introductory part of the program states that "outside forces" have managed to "dismember Yugoslavia" and are now "attempting to throw it onto its knees and to humiliate, isolate, and internally divide Serbia." The program, of course, underlines the "aggressive separatism" that "has caused the war and produced huge numbers of victims, in the first place, of Serbian nationality."

Policies Have Been Correct

"In one of the most difficult situations our country, and particularly the Serbian people, have ever had to face in our whole history," the SPS claims that its policies "have been correct, given the circumstances", and that Serbia "has managed to resist all outside pressure and completely retain its integrity and dignity." Managing to "remain outside direct war," Serbia, the program says, has shown "full" solidarity with the Serbian people in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, "giving them moral and financial support," and "has managed to prevent a new genocide" against the Serbian people.

The SPS policies, the program says, have enabled the preservation and adequate transformation of the federal Army and other federal institutions and "a timely reorganization of Yugoslavia into the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia." The latter has retained the "legal and historical continuity of a common country of Serbia and Montenegro," and at the same time "the nucleus has been created for possible future forms of integration and cooperation of the Serbian people in this region."

The SPS has laid out its aims in 21 points in the program. Peace is in first place, as an imperative condition for political stabilization and economic revival. Advocating further democratization, the SPS stresses that this means "liberation of the mass media from party alliances, submission, and bias," and "a democratic dialogue with opposition parties," with exchanges of views. This dialogue will be held according to "standard forms" and will be based on "arguments and reliable facts".

The election program also mentions the legal state, local self-management, the market economy, economic policies, agriculture, and the development of villages.

At the top of the SPS list of priority activities are the problems of ethnic equality, as "one of the basic principles of the socialists of Serbia."

As for international relations, the SPS supports the view that "the final solution to the Yugoslav crisis should be reached through agreement. This will create conditions for the development of ties and cooperation with neighboring countries, including the republics that have seceded." The socialists will cultivate "versatile cooperation" with member countries of the CSCE, European institutions, and with all other member countries of the UN and the Non-aligned Movement."

By Agreement Out of Crisis

"The preservation of Yugoslavia in its new borders must be regarded as a great and decisive success," the SPS election program says, because "the heart of the Serbian people has been preserved" as a vital guarantee of protection of all its other parts. Apart from that, "an institutional possibility has been created for the federal republic to be the axis of various forms of integration and cooperation of all parts of the Serbian people."

As for Kosovo and Metohija [Kosmet], the SPS is willing "to discuss all problems," with the exception of negotiations on the separation of Kosmet from Serbia.

Finally, the SPS turns to the youth, to which "the future belongs."

In the concluding part of the program, the SPS stresses that "it can be said without any doubt that the history of Serbia would have been different had it not been for the socialist leadership," because it would have found itself today "a vassal to the great powers, the Serbs in other republics would have had another genocide committed against them, and Kosovo, and some other parts perhaps would have been lost and the Serbs there evicted."

Because of these and other reasons, the SPS concludes its election program with an expressed conviction that "those who do not yet know who they will vote for, will, after careful deliberation, give their vote to the socialists."

Call for Boycott of Elections 'To Save Serbia'

92BA0949A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 92 p 8

[Article by T. Nesic: "Saving Serbia by Boycotting the Election"]

[Text] Nis, 24 May—On Sindjelic Square in Nis, the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] organized a rally today under the title "To Save Serbia, Let Us Withhold Our Votes." Judging by the banners, there were SPO members present from many cities in Serbia, from Negotin and Uzice to Leskovac and Vranje.

The principal speaker at the meeting, who addressed those present twice—at the beginning and end of the rally, was Vuk Draskovic, SPO president, but leaders of other opposition parties also participated and were introduced as members of the newly formed Democratic Movement of Serbia: Dr. Vojislav Kostunica, Dr. Nikola Milosevic, Dr. Radoslav Stojanovic, Dr. Kosta Cavoski, as well as certain other officials of the SPO.

The rally was announced not only to issue an appeal for boycotting the upcoming elections on 31 May, but also as an attempt to seek an answer to the question of how it can be different for Serbia and the Serbian people than it is now or has been up to now.

To compress everything that was stated: The only road to democracy for Serbia and the Serbian people, and also the only way to their salvation, is to replace the present regime and take power away from those who—as all the speakers emphasized—are to blame for everything that has happened and is happening.

Vuk Draskovic, president of the Serbian Renewal Movement, literally announced that an appeal will be sent to everyone very soon to come together in Belgrade in order to achieve that objective, which—he emphasized—was nearly achieved on 9 March of last year.

An Equal Sign Between the Two Election Days

"There will be just one more rally, and that will be in Belgrade, on the day of the decision," he said, announcing a gathering to last several days, as occurred in Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania, until the government is changed. "We will sit in Belgrade until we force them to give in. Let 500,000 people come, and that will be the force with which we will be able to drive them out. Respond when you hear the call, and it will come soon, very soon. And come to Belgrade, because that is where the front is, that is where we must win, to restore Serbia to Europe and to save it. If they block you off, if they prevent you from coming, break down everything in front of you and march to Belgrade."

There would have been no war if the outcome of the elections had been different, because people would have taken power who would have proclaimed a great Serbia without war. And even now: "Let us open the door to democracy, and in a moment the borders of a great Serbia will be created capable of protecting our people everywhere, and within them ethnic minorities will be guaranteed rights as they are everywhere in the world," Draskovic said, stressing that today's elections in Kosovo and the elections scheduled for 31 May are altogether equal in their illegitimacy, because both violate the Constitution.

Repeating his thesis that war can and must be waged with the Albanians about everything except to whom Kosovo belongs, Vuk Draskovic foretold for the Serbian people still darker days if they vote in the upcoming elections and unless there is a speedy change in the government.

"The world does not see the sufferings of the Serbian people for the crimes of the present regime in Serbia," the SPO president said, adding that the world does not hate us only because we are Serbs—the world's attacks are not on the Serbian people, but on the regime that is the last bastion of bolshevism, he said, once again issuing an invitation to Belgrade "to break the back of national socialism and fascism."

Reasons for Boycotting the Elections

In his address to those who attended the rally, Dr. Vojislav Kostunica gave several reasons for boycotting the upcoming elections. That these are elections with no possibility of a choice, because the government is announcing them above all as a patriotic act. That there was no time for an election campaign, that they cannot be scheduled until the provision on the immediate danger of war is rescinded, that a vote is being offered in favor of what has always been the anthem and seal of the Serbian people, and finally that elections are being conducted under a constitution that has never been adopted by the Serbian people. Dr. Kostunica likened the present elections to the elections in 1945 with respect to their undemocratic nature.

Dr. Nikola Milosevic, professor, indirectly compared Slobodan Milosevic with Baron Muenchausen, saying that the greatest lies of the government are that the war being waged has been won and that it is possible to achieve prosperity after inflation that is a world record.

The argument Dr. Radoslav Stojanovic gave for not voting in the elections is that if the opposition won 90 percent of the deputy seats in the federal elections, it would not be able to adopt a single decision, especially laws, because this requires consent of the Chamber of Republics, in which the Socialists have a majority—by not voting in the elections on Sunday, Serbs should prove that they have a government they do not deserve, Dr. Stojanovic said.

Emphasizing that the opposition certainly will no longer vote in any elections without a round-table discussion and without a law that will guarantee all political organizations equal work and opportunity to conduct a campaign, Dr. Kosta Cavoski concluded with an appeal, as he put it, to say no.

Former Cabinet Chief on Defense Ministry

92BA0924A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
9-10 May p VII

[Article by Milena Drazic including interview by BORBA staff members with Dobrila Gajic-Glisic, chief of the cabinet for the former Serbian minister of defense; place and date not given]

[Text] Believing that silence, like medicine, will help us forget quickly must have been very convincing for the "heroes" in the pages written by Dobrila Gajic-Glisic, chief of the cabinet for the former minister of defense, since no one to date has tried to reach her either with a threat, or a denial, not even a curse. Or, since her writing is continuing, perhaps the anxiety of waiting for more details has frozen any form of immediate reaction.

There is no obstacle, at least officially, to publishing her notes in the weekly magazine NIN, although the text falls into the category of an intriguing documentary, politically piquant. From her notes, the war in Croatia is seen from a different angle, through people who work, or who pass through, the offices on Nemanjina street in Belgrade, and who, by their testimonies, paint a different picture and give another dimension to the war, and raise suspicion of the official versions of it.

The enigmas of the past that were shocking until yesterday have now been exceeded with the revelations in this highly-circulated magazine because the revelations are from notes taken during the tenure of Tomislav Simovic, chief of the ministry (now retired), and were compiled during the period from September of last year to January of this year. The notes teem with the names of influential people in high positions, and are without the staleness of the last half century. The shock becomes even greater because Jezdimir Vasiljevic is freely arming volunteers with arms imported from Israel and from Crvena Zastava [a Yugoslav arms manufacturer], before fulfilling a deep desire to meet with Milosevic; because the son of Minister Sokolovic, whose very existence, at one moment, is negated by Minister Danilo Markovic [his compatriot], practically orders the withdrawal of one whole unit from the front and reassigns them to the military police; because the central government is falling apart but this fact is being hidden from Prime Minister Zelenovic himself; because Prohaska is neglecting his government work for the sake of his own company in Cyprus; because the deputy to Minister Mladja Kovacevic, in the midst of war operations at the front, grabs Arkan's gun, a trophy, to kill a rabbit; because many ministers, including the present Minister of Defense Marko Negovanovic, and others, are racing each other to see who will be first in obtaining a pistol, just to have one around the house ...

I Don't Belong to Anyone

The delicate work of the chief of the cabinet demanded the taking of notes on everything and the recording of everything that went on in the cabinet. Will today's, perhaps premature, publishing of these notes give a moral dimension to the problems, and thereby cloud over the real issues; that is, look at what has been said, what has been pointed out, determine what can be learned, and take steps to correct or counteract the problems.

There is one very murky question: Who stands behind Dobrila Gajic-Glisic, in whose hands is she an instrument and a weapon, whom does she now serve in an alleged showdown within the Serbian political hierarchy? As she stated to the press, and said in our discussion which lead to this article for the Sunday edition of BORBA, that this is her last conversation with the media because she has no intention to continue to feed polemics, since she has already written everything she wanted to say, and claims this decision is hers alone, and if she has any regrets at all, it would be because she did not reveal more information about the abuse of power, nepotism, lack of sensitivity to the war-related suffering, greed, the inability of people who have so many vices, to at least in public, act more virtuously.

Surprisingly, since publishing her notes, the ministry of defense of Serbia has responded publicly only twice, both times for unexpected reasons. First, a statement came from the cabinet of the present minister, Negovanovic, denying that Dobrila Gajic-Glisic, after leaving her post as chief of the previous minister's cabinet, remained there as an adviser to the minister because, in the meantime, she had been transferred to the military training center in Batajnica as an instructor. But, the original transfer document confirms that she is still an adviser to the minister. The next response dealt with disciplinary action taken because, according to regulations, she did not have authorization to publish information related to her scope of work. However, permission was granted earlier by the previous minister, who is also mentioned in the notes. A decision regarding her punishment—possibly a pink slip—will be made by the present minister himself, who, by the way, also has a place in the incriminating notes.

For now, as far as we know, no one at the ministry has been interrogated, checked, or suspended as a result of the abuses revealed in the notes.

Discontent With the Army

[Gajic-Glisic] This was precisely what I wanted: changes to take place, someone to ask what is being done, how much stealing is really going on, what is the stand of the people in high positions toward social problems. I did not reveal any secrets. And, since when are abuses a military secret? So, we should put an end to all these secrets around us!

Besides bringing out some embarrassing things about certain individuals, I have offended no one by bringing up his name; I only tried to show that it is the fault of the system within which all of this is happening.

[BORBA] Gajic-Glisic also wrote about the creation of the Serbian army. This action stems from the Serbian constitution, whereby the government was obligated, before the end of the last year, to offer to the delegates a draft of a law establishing the armed forces for the republic. This was at the time when Croatian grenades were falling on Kupinovo and Sid, and the JNA [Yugoslav Peoples Army] was wavering and showing a lack of ability to adapt to fighting a war within its own borders, as well as a general disintegration of its cadre. To the reader we bring back the memory of those days in November when Messrs. Zelenovic, Kosutic, Petrovic, even Simovic himself, while visiting the bombarded towns, openly talked about the discontent within the JNA and about the necessity for an army of the republic, such as Croatia and Slovenia had at that time. According to the chief of cabinet's notes, work on the draft law was underway by a commission headed by Budimir Kosutic, and the reader can only hypothesize whether this was a stumbling block to the leadership of Serbia, and why has the decision prevailed whereby the JNA is to serve only the wishes of SR Yugoslavia [Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia].

[Gajic-Glisic] I worked as the chief of the minister's cabinet, a minister who strongly believed—though disappointed in the JNA, to which he had devoted his life—that Serbia needs to have its own army, one that is nonpartisan, nonideological, professional, and that after 70 years of not having its own army Serbia needs an army which would protect the national interests of Serbia and Serbian nationality. I myself believed in the same thing.

The notes show an attempt to make a law which could be offered to the people's representatives. The interruption of this effort and the fall of the Zelenovic government show us what really happened.

I Can Always Fall Back on the Hoe

[BORBA] As head of the Intelligence Center in Cacak, Dobrila Gajic-Glisic was accused of alleged eavesdropping on conversations between leaders of that municipality—her duties included the taping of such conversations—and was relieved from her job only to be returned to the same job after a drawn out investigation because her actual crime was something else—the revealing of local machinations. We asked what is the difference between nepotism there and at other republic levels, between greed and the insensitivity of people in high positions.

[Gajic-Glisic] The mentality is the same there and here, the same criteria applies to values, the same morals. Only here it is at a higher republic level. Although I said that I can memorize six hours of meetings, word for word, especially if it is about a subject with which I am familiar, no one shows any interest in your talents, in your intellectual and work potential. Rather, everyone asks: Who is she, who brought her, who stands behind her? Absolutely no one stands behind me; I am a country child. I am not a part of any apparatus; I have belonged to no party since the Communist Alliance ended. But, that different parties will use me—this I recognize, and I can do nothing to prevent it.

[BORBA] Is the unfortunate witness afraid of the consequences?

[Gajic-Glisic] I find it rather ridiculous to think that someone would hurt a bare-armed woman only because she wrote something. And, since I am not afraid for my life, I am not afraid of anything. If I lose my job, I can always go back to the hoe. Country and farm give me energy, and my greatest passion is medicinal herbs.

[BORBA] And, what if she gets a pink slip?

[Gajic-Glisic] I don't even want to think of that. Today is my normal working day. Tomorrow is—tomorrow.

SPS Lists

[Gajic-Glisic] Simovic was angry because Radmila Andjelkovic insisted that in all municipalities only people from the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] could hold departmental level positions under the minister of defense, and preferably those selected from her cadre list. Her explanation was that her party was the one in power, and that only what they said was to be respected and carried out. But, when Simovic demanded that the SPS members be involved in mobilization of the military conscripts, you could not find them [SPS members] anywhere, and they were as silent as the dead.

Stealing, Stealing

[BORBA] If Minister Simovic saw all this adverseness, why didn't he react?

[Gajic-Glisic] Simovic was an exceptionally honorable man. As far as I know, the only property that he owns consists of a "Yugo" car and a two-room apartment. He moved between 28 barracks and 18 apartments, often moving his wife and children, and sometimes alone. He was absolutely dedicated to the military profession. When I would tell him he should cut down on certain things, that he should cut off the privileges of the people around him, he would answer: "This is a war, people are dying, this is not the time to think of ourselves. It is human relations and division that has brought us to this." I would ask him about the thievery that was going on in our offices and about the arms being stolen at the front, actions we would hear about from those returning from the front lines. He would respond, "Those at the front are fighters, warriors, and they risk their lives and these here, are ... " and he would wave with his hand.

Much more than the squabbling over the price of revolvers, what hurt me most was the way these people viewed the war and tragedy in general, and this is why I published this work.

I Did Not Seize the Moment

[BORBA] If the people mentioned in the notes are not calling, then unhappy citizens are—but they are calling the wrong number! Studio B asked its listeners not to call a certain Dobrila Gajic-Glisic to protest because she is not the one to whom protests should be addressed. As a matter of fact, the former chief of the cabinet only recently received a phone of her own.

As a guest on the program "Interview by the Viewers" on NTV's [Independent Television] Studio B, some 10 days ago, Dobrila Gajic-Glisic received some rather unpleasant questions from people who believed she was a proponent of one or the other political forces that are arguing amongst themselves. Response to the program showed how much the revelation of her notes has stirred up the public.

[Gajic-Glisic] I received questions for which I am not competent to provide answers. Besides, I am not a good public speaker; I do not have the talent for making speeches. This, my first appearance on television, was perhaps a bit too much for me; I did not know in advance that I was going to appear on a live TV show. Had I known, perhaps I could have used the moment to better advantage, but I cannot and will not shy away from my peasant origins, my attitude, the way I speak. Anyway, why do I need all this? What I wanted to say, I have already said in the book from which excerpts are now being taken and published.

Montenegro

Deputies for Federal Assembly Chamber Chosen

LD0206194992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1705 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Excerpts] Podgorica, 2 Jun (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Assembly today elected 13 deputies to the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Republics. All deputies are from the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists, which was the only party to propose candidates for deputies to this chamber. [passage omitted]

The Montenegrin Assembly elected the following deputies: Milos Radulovic; Milutin Lalic; Novo Becanovic; Asim Telacevic; Ljubisav Knezevic; Milenko Pantovic; Miodrag Vukovic; Branko Vukmanovic; Bosko Golovic; Nikola Dragomanovic; Danilo Vukasinovic; and Milenko Saranovic. [only twelve names as received] [passage omitted]

Kosovo

Rugova Discusses Future Plans for Republic

LD0106184492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0705 GMT 31 May 92

[Excerpts] Before today's elections in Serbia, elections had already taken place in Kosovo, which belongs to Serbia. The absolute winner was Ibrahim Rugova, who is the leader of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance which unites most of the Albanian parties and movements of Kosovo. Here is an interview with the Kosovo head of state.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] How did the Serbian authorities react to your victory?

[Rugova, in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Hungarian translation] It reacted as it has always reacted against the Albanians. They destroyed our posters and symbols, the police inflicted harm on the people and also harassed foreign journalists. Their number exceeded 200, not to speak of the violence inflicted on our activists.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, during our previous meeting a month and half ago you explained that you set up a parallel power which enjoys the trust of the people. How do you plan the future after your election victory?

[Rugova] We have had schools in private houses, we had political parties which formed part of this parallel power before. Now we are working on setting up a parliament and establishing power first. Step by step, our ministries will have to be organized, then the local power. The best solution, apart from the war-like thinking would be if we could manage to solve the peaceful transition of power. This would be the best for the Albanian majority but also for the Serb community of Kosovo. This way we might be able to avoid armed confrontations. We know that this is a difficult task but we shall work on it. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr. President, what do you expect from Albania, the mother country; what are your connections like?

[Rugova] We expect solidarity and help from Albania. This is a democratic Albania now with democratic power. The country has a new role in the world, despite its horrendous economic difficulties. It is in the interest of Albania to protect us, since half of the Albanian people lives in Kosovo and in the former Yugoslavia.

[Correspondent] If your dream comes true and an independent Kosovo is established, what sort of rights will you guarantee for the minorities, especially for the Serbs?

[Rugova] We shall handle every minority group as a nation: the 200,000 Serbs, the few Muslims, and the Turks likewise. I say it with complete sincerity, and there will be a guarantee for this between Serbia and Kosovo, that the minorities will have full rights in politics, the economy and culture. [end recording]

Official on Austrian 'Interference' in Pristina

AU0106122492 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 92 p 5

[TANJUG report: "Serbs Will Not Give Their Territories Away"]

[Text] Pristina, 18 May (TANJUG)—Vukasin Jokanovic, vice president of the Serbian Assembly, stated today in Pristina that Serbia would not allow anyone to violate its territorial integrity.

"Our republic wants to create a future for all nations and ethnic minorities that live here in Kosovo and Metohija," Jokanovic said during his visit to the Institute for Slavic culture.

The present legislation, Jokanovic added, had created legal conditions for the advancement of specific features of every culture. He underlined that in this region, scientific and other administrative points should be formed, which would be part of the republican institutions, and not some kind of autonomy-promoting centers.

Speaking on international involvement in the internal affairs of Serbia, Jokanovic specifically focused on Austria's interference under, as he said, the pretense of concern for the violations of human rights of Albanians.

"All those who want to engage themselves in this matter should look back a little. They will see that, until recently, the ethnic and human rights of Serbs and Montenegrins here were violated. The mere fact that this institute was formed only after 15 years of procrastinating and struggling shows how much everything non-Albanian was discriminated against," Jokanovic said.

The purpose of Jokanovic's visit today to the Pristina institute is to discuss the status of this scientific institution. According to the latest legal regulations, this institute will probably be attached to the Serbian academy of arts and sciences and become its research center.

Macedonia

Greek 'Genocide' Against Macedonians Alleged

92BA0952Z Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 15 May 92 pp 1-2

[Article by Drashko Antov especially for NOVA MAKEDONIJA: "Secret Document for a Pogrom Against Macedonians!"]

[Text] *In a letter to Greek President Karamanlis, the Society of Threatened Peoples, exposing the Greek plan for the destruction of Macedonians in Greece, insists that the truth about Macedonia be told and that the genocidal actions of the Greek secret police be stopped.*

Dusseldorf, 14 May

The familiar Society of Threatened Peoples in the World, with headquarters in Gottingen, which is also known for publishing the periodical POGROM, which on several occasions has come up with extensive information on the situation of Macedonians in Greece and on the Greek policy of genocide, insisted, on the eve of the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the European Community in Brussels, in its concern for the protection of small nations, that steps be taken to reveal the truth about Macedonians in Greece and the genocidal actions taken by the Greek secret police toward Macedonians in Greece. The letter was addressed to Constantine Karamanlis, president of the Republic of Greece, in Athens.

Among other things, the letter stresses the following: "There are between 150,000 and 300,000 Macedonians living in Greece, in our estimate. It is not a question of a small linguistic group whose basic minority rights are denied. The reason for such denials is exclusively the intolerance shown by your government toward minorities, especially by the leading New Democracy and PASOK parties. Such an incomprehensible nationalistic campaign waged against the neighboring Republic of Macedonia should be ended and a ban imposed on constant spying on and surveillance of the Macedonian minority in northern Greece by Greek state security. A secret document, which reached us recently, reveals that the alleged "threat from Skopje is a means for the destruction of the Macedonian minority in that area of Greece."

Some of the methods aimed at the destruction of the Macedonian minority are the following: Only Greek citizens whose mother tongue is Greek have the right to be employed in the northern part of Greece, whereas Macedonians can work only in the southern Greek areas. Most rigorous steps are taken to prohibit the use of the Macedonian language and customs by party and youth organizations in the villages of Aegean Macedonia, whereas Greek soldiers are allowed to marry Macedonian women and thus reduce the number of Macedonians. The women are forced to deny their Macedonianism. According to our information, this document indicates a violation of fundamental and basic human rights of Macedonians since the 1949 civil war. Since then, the use of the Macedonian language has been forbidden with the help of a variety of punishments, threats, and imprisonment, not only in establishments and coups but also in the very homes of the Macedonians. Anyone who left Greece during the civil war is forbidden to return to his native place in Greece. Those who have returned as Macedonians have had all their possessions confiscated along with whatever they had earned abroad. We also know that, in the past two years, newly founded Macedonian societies have been kept under constant control by the Greek secret service, for which reason they have been unable to publish their works, and the recognition of such societies has been forbidden by the Greeks.

The letter to Karamanlis was signed by Tilmann Zileich, president of the Society of Threatened Peoples, in the light of the secret document, which accompanies the letter, dated 16 February 1981, entitled "Measures Against Macedonia," which shows that the Greek secret service has undertaken specific actions to eliminate everything Macedonian in northern Greece:

The efforts of the people of Skopje to gain Macedonian independence must be blocked by all possible means. The best ways are to prohibit the use of the Macedonian language and for Macedonians to move to other parts of Greece and be replaced by Greeks, thus eliminating the "Macedonian question."

To prohibit the return of Macedonians who had escaped and lived elsewhere, so that not a single Macedonian will remain in the northern part of Greece, and to block any type of cultural and linguistic propaganda coming from Skopje to that part of Greece.

To set up special organizations under the supervision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and thus block the spread of Macedonianism in northern Greece.

To employ individuals who do not speak Macedonian.

To encourage those who are employed with free housing, recreation, and other state benefits.

To promote Greek cultural societies and expand them; to publish books and pamphlets to promote the concept that, abroad, Aegean Macedonia will be considered Greek, thus deleting the word "Macedonia."

To cause various difficulties for students from Greece studying in Skopje to prevent them from pursuing their studies (deferment denied and so forth).

To encourage young people everywhere to promote the Greek idea and, if necessary, to persuade the people, with the help of money, as well, that neither the Macedonian language nor Macedonians exist.

To immediately move to the southern part of Greece all individuals in Lerin who are employed and who speak Macedonian.

To give service benefits and promotions to soldiers who marry Macedonian women and make them adopt Greek customs.

To industrialize the land with a view to full employment for the Greeks and the development of high standards, thus blocking the spread of propaganda coming from Skopje and neutralizing the Macedonians.

The document further stresses that all Macedonians must be kept under surveillance and subject to spying for the purpose of the definitive elimination of the Macedonians and the creation of pure Greek settlements, as well as imposing all kinds of prohibitions on Macedonian societies, organizations, and slogans demanding independence, autonomy, or minority rights.

These regulations were signed by Lieutenant General Dimitris Katelaris. It is further known that the task of the Aristotle Club in Dusseldorf is to mount Greek anti-Macedonian campaigns and that it is financially assisted by the Greek secret police. Furthermore, the Greek Consulate in Dusseldorf and Greek consulates elsewhere in Germany maintain a large network of Greek spies who pay attention to anything that goes on, similar to the former Soviet KGB.